

Election 2012

When super PACs attack by Michael Scherer

Joe Klein Can Romney find a common touch?

Mark Halperin The power of Paulitics

George W. Bush grades
No Child Left Behind

TIME

The Optimist

Why **Warren Buffett** is bullish on America

BY RANA FOROOHAR



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WHAT'S YOUR REASON...

FOR GETTING UP-TO-DATE ON ADULT VACCINES?

Like many people, I didn't always think about adult vaccinations as an important part of my health—until I learned that millions of US adults get sick and thousands die from vaccine-preventable diseases, some of which can be spread to others.

I also learned that immunity from certain vaccines fades over time, and new vaccines may have been developed since I was a child. **The CDC* recommends multiple vaccines for adults, depending on age and risk of infection, to help protect against up to 14 diseases or more. These diseases include whooping cough, flu and hepatitis B.**

You could be at risk for getting serious diseases. Talk to a healthcare professional about the vaccines you may need. Everyone has a reason to help protect their health. **What's yours?**

*Centers for Disease Control and Prevention

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Editor's Desk

TIME stories that elicited the most mail



Can Anyone Stop Romney?

Tebow's Testimony

The Passion of Rick Santorum

So, What Would Warren Do?



THIS WEEK MARKS WARREN Buffett's first appearance on the cover of TIME. I'm not sure how he's avoided it until now, but he's using this moment in his long and storied career to speak out about what the U.S. should do to move forward. Buffett is as classic and iconically American as the brands he invests in: Coca-Cola, American Express, IBM. But his solutions are anything but orthodox or predictable. He believes the tax system is unfair, the superrich do not pay their fair share, and corporations don't need a tax break. He is dubious about the conventional wisdom that education and innovation can solve our economic woes. He believes a certain percentage of any nation's population will of necessity be poor. And he thinks demography is destiny and America's demographics will return us to glory.

Though some have called him the richest socialist, his view of government is less Lenin than Lincoln, who said, "The legitimate object of government is to do for a community of people whatever they have done, but can not do, at all, or can not so well do, for themselves." Our superb economic columnist Rana Foroohar spent time with Buffett in his hometown of Omaha. This cover story is part of our mission both to explain the economy and to focus on solutions for the U.S. and the world. Just a few weeks ago we explored how America started selling cars again; before that we looked at the rise of income inequality and the decline of social mobility. This year you can expect a series of cover stories on how the economy is affecting us all, as well as pieces on how to fix both the U.S. and global economies. In an election year, there is no more important subject.



THE CONVERSATION

'He'll no longer have to cross that word out.'

David Muir said on ABC's *World News* as he held up TIME's latest Mitt Romney cover. A month ago we put Romney on the cover with the headline "**Why Don't They Like Me?**" and the candidate has been autographing copies of it after crossing out the "Don't." Some commenters saw the question on last week's cover—**"So You Like Me Now?"**—as a bit of redemption for the Iowa caucuses' winner, but Poynter.org viewed it as a playful way to "revisit ongoing questions about the candidate's popularity." As rival candidates sharpened their attacks on the GOP front runner, Political Wire and the Daily Beast pointed readers to Joe Klein's *Swampland* post "**New Hampshire: Inconsequential, but Not Boring.**" in which he noted that Romney's corporate past and recent "I like being able to fire people" gaffe might be flaring up too early in the campaign to help the Democrats. One TIME.com reader disagreed: "His record at Bain will be the gift that keeps on giving."



Up Next ...

There were plenty of sleek new tablets and smart phones at this year's International Consumer Electronics Show in Las Vegas, but the real stars were the ultrabooks, powerful but slim laptops like this \$999 Dell XPS 13, which weighs less than 3 lb. and will hit stores in March. For TIME's coverage of the trade show, including technology editor Doug Aamoth's picks of the 12 coolest gadgets of 2012, go to techland.time.com.

Richard Stengel, MANAGING EDITOR

MAIL

**Romney Redux**

The short answer to the question on your latest Mitt Romney cover—"SO YOU LIKE ME NOW?"—is a resounding no [Jan. 16]. I used to think of Romney as a white-bread, do-no-harm kind of guy. But over the past few months, the more I read about him and listened to him, the clearer it became that he will say anything to be elected. This is the best the Republican Party has to offer?

Nancy Carner, DAYTON, OHIO

You definitely owed Romney a second cover after the headline you put on the first one ("Why Don't They Like Me?" Dec. 12). Thanks for making it right.

Ed Gardner, ROSEMONT, PA.

Poor Mitt. The answer is still no.

Roxana Perkins, THE VILLAGES, FLA.

Santorum's Faith

I found Joe Klein's admiration of Rick Santorum unconvincing ["The Passion of Rick Santorum," Jan. 16]. Santorum's acceptance of his wife's choice not to abort the fetus that nearly killed her puts him on the fringes of American cultural life. He does not represent the overwhelming majority of citizens. And though, as Klein writes, he may be "more than the sum of his prejudices," those prejudices make him unqualified to lead this country.

Eric Beldoch, ARDSLEY, N.Y.

Too Many Kills?

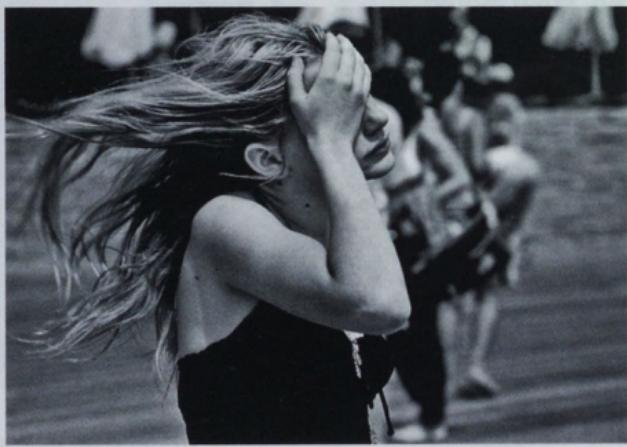
What possessed Belinda Luscombe to interview a sniper for 10 Questions [Jan. 16]? She tells us that Navy SEAL Chris Kyle has 160 confirmed kills, "purportedly the highest of any American," and that his victims in Iraq include a woman with a toddler because she had a grenade. Kyle shot people from a safe distance of up to 2,000 yards in a war we chose to fight in a country that had not attacked us. I'm sure glad to hear, though, that Kyle is now "pretty comfortable with not having to kill anyone."

Doug Palmer, SEATTLE

ON LIGHTBOX

Coming of Age

Photographer Joseph Szabo has achieved cult status for his moody, evocative studies of teenage life on New York's Long Island. The first major retrospective of his work, including this image taken in 1972, opens Jan. 14 at the Heckscher Museum of Art in Huntington, N.Y. Find more of his work at lightbox.time.com.



TEBOW TIME

When you pray, go into your room, close the door and pray to your Father, who is unseen.

This passage from **THE GOSPEL OF MATTHEW** was quoted by many readers who object to Tim Tebow's showy displays of his faith on the football field ["Tebow's Testimony," Jan. 16]. "Hey Tebowers," wrote Bill DeArmond of Winfield, Kans. "What part of Matthew 6: 5-8 do you not understand?"



The week's three most popular @TIME tweets

1. "Where are America's drunkest cities?"



2. "Which college major is most likely to be unemployed after graduation?"



3. "Our brains become less sharp as we age, but when does the decline actually start?"



TIME.com/sorbs1, Boston and Springfield, Mass.; 2, architectur3, 45

Answers from accompanying

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Briefing

'When I saw him scoring, first of all,
I just thought, Thank you, Lord.'

1. **TIM TEBOW**, Denver Broncos quarterback, who threw a game-winning 80-yard touchdown pass to Demaryius Thomas in a Jan. 8 NFL wild-card matchup against the Pittsburgh Steelers; the Broncos won, 29-23, in overtime

**'This long-awaited change to the definition of rape
is a victory for women and men across the country whose
suffering has gone unaccounted for over 80 years.'**

2. **JOE BIDEN**, U.S. Vice President, on the FBI's revision of its decades-old definition of rape; the definition now includes nonforcible acts and attacks against men



\$100

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'People have real fears that the cycle of violence
might be revived in this country.'

3. **TARIQ ANNAD**, an Iraqi government employee, after a wave of explosions struck two Shi'ite neighborhoods in Baghdad on Jan. 5, killing at least 27 people

**'Our campaign is about more than replacing a President.
It is about saving the soul of America.'**

4. **MITT ROMNEY**, after winning the New Hampshire primary; Romney is the first nonincumbent Republican to win both that primary and the Iowa caucuses since Iowa began initiating the nominating contests in 1976

'Women. They
are a complete mystery.'

5. **STEPHEN HAWKING**, British theoretical physicist, responding to the question "What do you think about most during the day?" in an interview with *New Scientist* magazine marking his 70th birthday on Jan. 8



3,291

Number of registered hunters in Japan's nuclear-ravaged Fukushima prefecture—down from 4,779 a year ago because of fears that animals may be contaminated with radioactive substances

**\$860
MILLION**

Amount of debt held by Hostess Brands, maker of the Twinkie, when the company filed for bankruptcy on Jan. 11



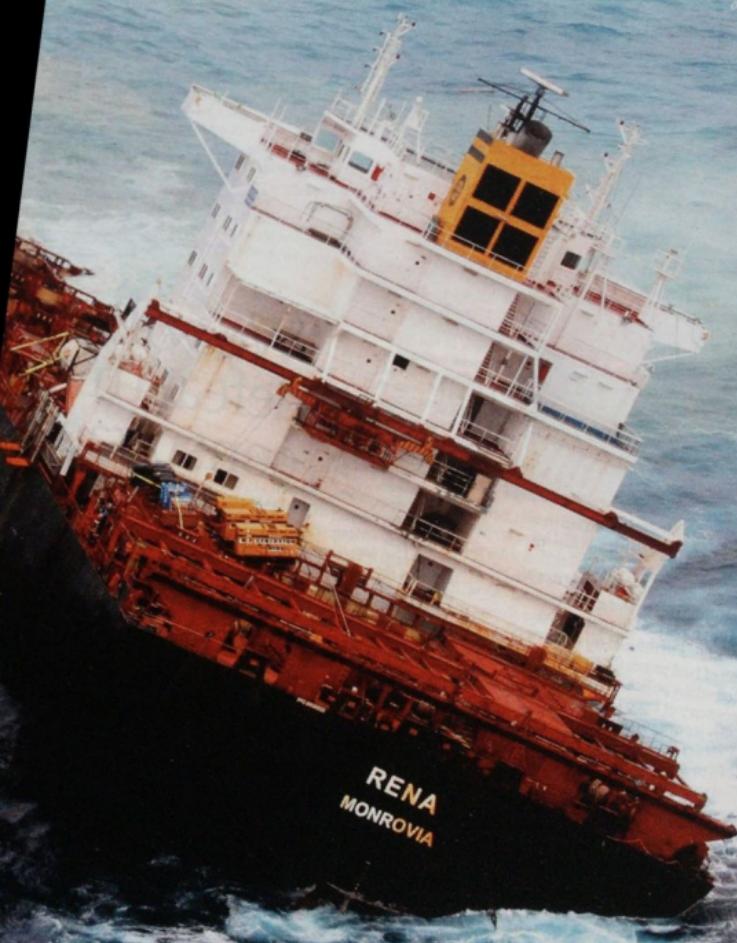
Briefing

LightBox

Torn aside

Part of a container ship marooned off New Zealand
slips into the sea. The ship, the Rena, ran aground
a reef in October, leading to a spill of cargo and fuel

Photograph by Action Press/Zuma Press
lightbox.time.com



World



A protester mans a roadblock outside luxury homes in Lagos

Fires on All Fronts

1 | NIGERIA As sectarian violence ravaged stretches of Africa's most populous country, forcing thousands to flee their homes, tens of thousands marched in cities nationwide against the government's elimination of subsidies to refined-oil importers, which has led to a near doubling of fuel prices for consumers. At least three protesters were killed when police opened fire on a riotous crowd in the coastal megacity of Lagos, but the general strike, dubbed Occupy Nigeria by its organizers in a nod to protests elsewhere, continued. Officials insist that cutting the subsidies—part of a wider move toward economic reform—is essential to reducing poverty in the long term. But countless Nigerians fumed at their political leaders, many of whom have grown rich from the nation's oil wealth. Meanwhile, the death toll from clashes between Muslims and Christians rose following a mob raid on a mosque in the country's south, killing five. Boko Haram, an Islamist militant group, was responsible for an earlier spate of deadly attacks on churches in northern Nigeria.



1 MINUTE

Time change forward—to 5 before midnight—on the Doomsday Clock. Conceived by nuclear scientists, it tracks the failure to curb nuclear weapons and climate change



Friends in The West

2 | VENEZUELA

Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, above, went on an attention-grabbing tour of Latin America, calling on four of the region's more outspoken leftist leaders in a bid to show that Tehran, though hit by sanctions, isn't as isolated as Washington hopes. Visiting Venezuela, Cuba, Ecuador and Nicaragua, Ahmadinejad traded in the anti-American rhetoric that has animated the Latin American left for decades. In Caracas, he grandstanded with autocrat Hugo Chávez, who accused Washington of demonizing his and the Iranian regimes when, in reality, the U.S. was "the threat." Yet Iran's ties to the region remain superficial, with trade a sliver of what Europe, the U.S. or China can boast. And Ahmadinejad still went home to a country that's becoming a pariah.

Getting with the Program

3 | EGYPT U.S. Deputy Secretary of State William Burns flew to Cairo to meet with officials from Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood following the success in recent elections of the Islamist group's political wing, the Freedom and Justice Party. The talks represented the highest-level contacts between U.S. diplomats and the Brotherhood, which commands the most seats in Egypt's new parliament and looks poised to dominate the country's politics in the years to come. Once a clandestine organization, feared by the U.S. as a terrorist threat and brutally suppressed by the regime of ousted dictator Hosni Mubarak, the Brotherhood is now at pains to prove its commitment to democratic politics. Checking in with the other power broker in Egypt, Burns also met with Field Marshal Mohamed Hussein Tantawi, whose interim military government still holds sway.

SYRIA

'We will defeat this conspiracy.'

BASHAR ASSAD, the embattled Syrian President, who delivered his first public address in months on Jan. 10, vowing to continue cracking down on opposition to his regime with an "iron fist"





Elephants in the Room

4 | INDIA At a park in the northern Indian state of Uttar Pradesh, a worker uses pink cloth to cover statues of elephants. Because these elephants happen to be the symbol of the state's ruling party, the statues must be shrouded ahead of upcoming state-assembly elections. With a population of nearly 200 million, Uttar Pradesh would be the world's fifth most populous country were it independent.

The Son Also Begs

5 | NORTH KOREA Buried in Pyongyang's usual output of bellicose bluster recently was an entreaty to the U.S. suggesting that the Hermit Kingdom might freeze its nuclear-enrichment program in exchange for food aid. The statement was the first directed to Washington by the North Korean Foreign Ministry since Kim Jong Un, son of the deceased Kim Jong Il, assumed power. An estimated one-quarter of the country's 24 million people are in need of relief.

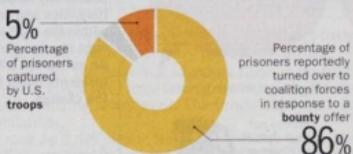
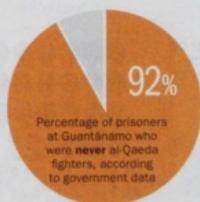
A Dismal Decade

6 | U.S. Jan. 11 marked 10 years since the first detainees in the war against al-Qaeda were taken to the U.S. facility at Guantánamo, a slip of land held by the U.S. on the eastern tip of Cuba. Critics decry the murky legality under which hundreds of supposed "enemy combatants" have been held without normal rights of due process. Inquiries found that few detainees have had concrete ties to al-Qaeda. Yet despite earlier promises to shutter the facility, the White House seems prepared to keep it open for years to come.



779 Number of men imprisoned at Guantánamo by the Department of Defense since the facility opened on Jan. 11, 2002

171 Number of men **still imprisoned** there as of January 2012



Age of the **youngest** prisoner held at Guantánamo

13

Age of the **oldest** prisoner held at Guantánamo

98

Number of **children** the U.S. has imprisoned at Guantánamo

21

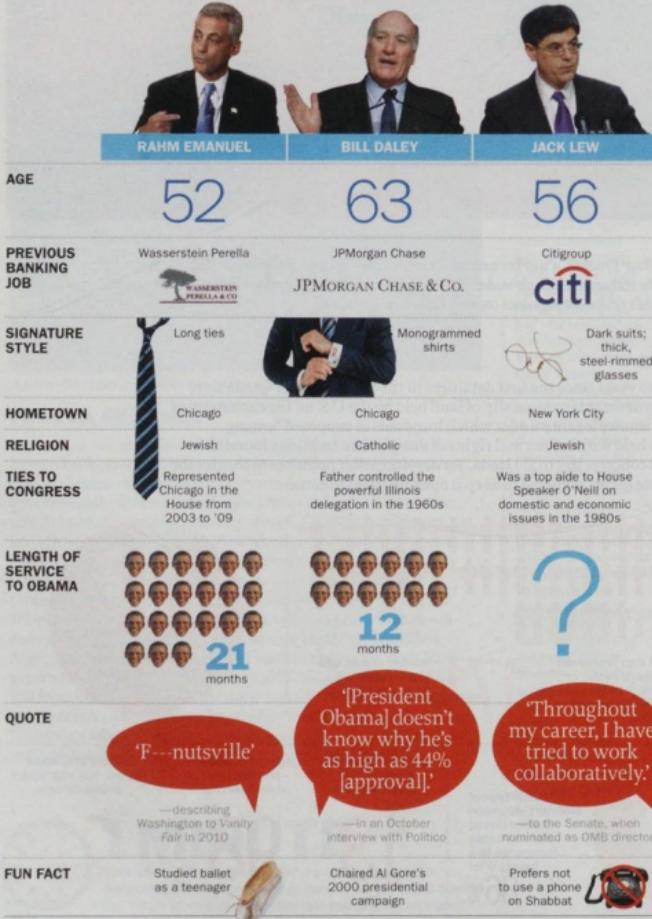
SOURCE: ACLU

By Ishaan Tharoor

Nation

The Chief-of-Staff Merry-Go-Round Rahm, Bill, and now Jack

Barack Obama took months to replace his first chief of staff, Rahm Emanuel, in 2010. In replacing Bill Daley, Obama took no time at all. "There was one clear choice," he said: Office of Management and Budget director Jack Lew, who worked for House Speaker Tip O'Neill in the 1980s, Bill Clinton in the '90s and Hillary Clinton until last year. Lew is a reminder that U.S. politics is increasingly budgetary. How he compares with his predecessors:



Eugenics

NORTH CAROLINA Throughout the 20th century, over 30 states forcibly sterilized tens of thousands of people who were deemed unfit for society; North Carolina alone sterilized more than 7,600 people from 1929 until 1974, including poor black women, rape victims and children. Now the state may be the first to offer more than an apology. On Jan. 10, a governor's task force voted 3-2 to pay \$50,000 to each of the 1,500 to 2,000 surviving victims. The legislature is expected to vote on the measure this year, but with a total cost of up to \$100 million and the state facing a \$2 billion budget shortfall for fiscal year 2013, it could face opposition. Some two dozen states that had eugenics programs have yet to apologize.

NUMBER

193



Number of pardons issued by Mississippi Governor Haley Barbour on Jan. 10, his last day in office; he pardoned 23 people in total, including 17 convicted murderers, four of whom had worked at the governor's mansion while serving time

Immigration: Halting Family Breakups

WASHINGTON The Obama Administration moved to ease green-card rules for undocumented spouses and children of American citizens, making immediate-family breakups less likely as illegal immigrants apply for U.S. residency. The change will take effect later this year, at the height of the presidential campaign, potentially helping Democrats woo Hispanics and provoking a battle within the GOP over whether to fight the measure or let it stand. An estimated 100,000 illegal residents could be affected by the change.

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Briefing

Economy

The 1% Birth. Why baby Beyoncé's are little profit centers for hospitals

Closing hospital wings for complete redecoration in anticipation of your two- or three-night stay may seem excessive, but for celebrity soon-to-be moms, having a hospital wing at your disposal is simply part of the baby budget. Beyoncé and Jay Z welcomed their baby girl Blue Ivy Carter at Lenox Hill Hospital in Manhattan amid reports that the star couple funded renovations prior to their (and Blue's) arrival—and that the security surrounding the event irked other new moms and their families, whose babies were apparently not quite as special.

Ellie Miller, a co-founder of Los Angeles-based Ellie & Melissa, the Baby Planners, says it isn't just celebs who opt for the star treatment. The rest of the 1% give birth differently too. "It has always been the well-to-do that get a private suite," she says. "The celebrities can go over the top."

Bespoke medical care isn't just for babies. Many hospitals have VIP wings with hotel-like accommodations. And the number of concierge doctors—they don't accept insurance and often charge yearly "membership" fees—increased 46% in the past 18 months, according to the American Academy of Private Physicians.

But birth is big business—worth more than \$30 billion a year—and this limousine labor is highly profitable. It often involves complete room redecoration prior to Mom's arrival. And expect an entire team to attend her once the baby is born. Miller has seen these types of teams grow—with massage therapists, special music options, an interior decorator, a chef, a photographer and especially a makeup artist; where there are photographers, there must be makeup. Miller says nearly every L.A. hospital is ready for celebrities and the privacy—and

security—concerns that go with a well-publicized birth, as well as the VIP treatment. "There is really no end to the options," Miller says. "And with a lot of celebrities, but not Beyoncé, having C sections, they are staying longer." Too push to push, as they say in the U.K.

Hospitals from coast to coast specialize in the luxe maternity, but only people in New York City and Los Angeles can turn birth into a movie production. At Cedars-Sinai in L.A., deluxe maternity suites offer three rooms with hardwood floors, a personal aide 24/7 and other lush hotel-style amenities, all for about \$3,800 per day. On Manhattan's east side, the Mount Sinai Hospital boasts three-room suites with views of Central Park for \$4,000 per night—an average price for these high-end private options, Miller says. That's above the hospital's standard charges for, say, delivering a baby. —TIM NEWCOMB

\$4,000

Daily rate for Mount Sinai Hospital's maternity-care luxury suite with full view of Central Park





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- About all medications you take, including prescriptions, over-the-counter medications, vitamins, and herbal supplements
- If you have muscle aches or weakness
- If you drink more than 2 alcoholic drinks a day
- If you have diabetes or kidney problems
- If you have a thyroid problem

ABOUT LIPITOR

LIPITOR is a prescription medicine. Along with diet and exercise, it lowers "bad" cholesterol in your blood. It can also raise "good" cholesterol (HDL-C).

LIPITOR can lower the risk of heart attack, stroke, certain types of heart surgery, and chest pain in patients who have heart disease or risk factors for heart disease such as:

- age, smoking, high blood pressure, low HDL-C, family history of early heart disease

LIPITOR can lower the risk of heart attack or stroke in patients with diabetes and risk factors such as diabetic eye or kidney problems, smoking, or high blood pressure.

POSSIBLE SIDE EFFECTS OF LIPITOR

Serious side effects in a small number of people:

- **Muscle problems** that can lead to kidney problems, including kidney failure. Your chance for muscle problems is higher if you take certain other medicines with LIPITOR.
- **Liver problems.** Your doctor may do blood tests to check your liver before you start LIPITOR and while you are taking it.

Call your doctor right away if you have:

- Unexplained muscle weakness or pain, especially if you have a fever or feel very tired
- Allergic reactions including swelling of the face, lips, tongue, and/or throat that may cause difficulty in breathing or swallowing which may require treatment right away
- Nausea, vomiting, or stomach pain
- Brown or dark-colored urine
- Feeling more tired than usual
- Your skin and the whites of your eyes turn yellow
- Allergic skin reactions

Common side effects of LIPITOR are:

• Diarrhea	• Muscle and joint pain
• Upset stomach	• Changes in some blood tests

HOW TO TAKE LIPITOR

Do:

- Take LIPITOR as prescribed by your doctor.
- Try to eat heart-healthy foods while you take LIPITOR.
- Take LIPITOR at any time of day, with or without food.
- If you miss a dose, take it as soon as you remember. But if it has been more than 12 hours since your missed dose, wait. Take the next dose at your regular time.

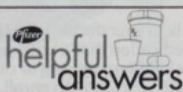
Don't:

- Do not change or stop your dose before talking to your doctor.
- Do not start new medicines before talking to your doctor.
- Do not give your LIPITOR to other people. It may harm them even if your problems are the same.
- Do not break the tablet.

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Health & Science

The End of Winter. The role of climate change in a disturbingly mild season

By Bryan Walsh

IT'S TOO EARLY TO SAY WITH CERTAINTY, BUT 2012 is shaping up as the year that winter forgot. All of December and the first week of January saw atypically mild temperatures throughout much of the U.S.—most dramatically in the usually harsh states of the far north and parts of the Plains. Fargo, N.D., hit 55°F on Jan. 5, breaking a more-than-a-century-old record for the warmest day in January. In December, at least half the U.S. had temperatures at least 5°F above normal. At the end of 2011, less than 20% of the lower 48 was covered with snow, compared with more than 50% at the end of 2010. Ski resorts face the possibility of a dry, warm winter leaving slopes bare.

Is climate change the culprit? It's important to remember that one season does not make a trend, and the warm temperatures of the past month and a half aren't driven by any single variable. The winters of 2011 and 2010 saw unusually heavy snowfall in much of the U.S., after all, and Europe experienced some of the coldest temperatures in its history. And even this winter, Alaska is being buried in snow—a stunning 67 in. in one town during a nine-day stretch. Still, it's undeniable that truly cold temperatures are becoming less and less common. In the U.S. since 1980, nearly every year has seen

annual average temperatures higher than the long-term average.

To many people, that's not a bad thing. Extreme cold isn't just uncomfortable and inconvenient—it's also dangerous, particularly for older or poorer people who often can't protect themselves from the elements. But warmer winters can change nature in dangerous ways as well. Western bark beetles, which have ravaged pine trees in the West, are thriving because they're no longer being knocked out by very cold winters. A decline in mountain snowpack in the West can mean less water for dry states that are accustomed to meltwater runoff in the spring.

And then there's the less quantifiable, more lyrical value of winter—a cold and crystalline season that's beautiful and punishing all at once. "If we had no winter, the spring would not be so pleasant," said the early-American poet Anne Bradstreet. Climate change disrupts the rhythm of the seasons, that regular

passage of time and temperature we assumed was fixed. It turns out we may be wrong, and winter as we know it could one day be a season of the past. As we keep altering the climate, who can tell what else might follow into unplanned obsolescence? ■

68°F

High temperature
in Lincoln, Neb.,
on Jan. 5—a full 33°
above the norm



THINK AGAIN

HEALTH On Further Review ...

Medicine is part science and part art, which means that what's accepted wisdom now may need revisions later. To wit, the latest such updates:

PROSTATE-CANCER SCREENING Testing for prostate-specific antigen (PSA) can detect early prostate cancers, but these tumors tend to be slow-growing. A study confirms that men who get regular PSA screens don't live longer than men who don't since even those with high PSA levels tend to die of causes other than prostate cancer.

NICOTINE REPLACEMENT Gums and patches loaded with nicotine don't help smokers quit long term—not surprising, since they're designed to ease smokers through nicotine withdrawal but do little more. What does work? Bans on smoking and taxes on cigarettes.

ASPIRIN FOR HEART DISEASE People who have had a heart attack should take a daily low-dose aspirin to reduce their risk of a second attack. But a new study suggests that this strategy doesn't help prevent a first heart attack in people who have never had one. —ALICE PARK

Milestones



DIED

Josef Skvorecky

Like his friend Vaclav Havel, the late Czech President and playwright, the Czech novelist Josef Skvorecky, who died Jan. 3 at 87, will be remembered as a writer with a shrewd—but much funnier—appraisal of human nature and the devilish political systems it can create. With his first novel, *The Cowards*, published in 1958 and quickly banned by the Czech communist government, he found his great subject, the travails of an ordinary man as he tries, however bumptiously, to hold on to his humanity amid the challenges of 20th century totalitarianism. He also found his fictional alter ego, the jazz-besotted Danny Smiricky, who would be at the center of many of his novels, including his 1977 magnum opus, *The Engineer of Human Souls*.

After the 1968 Soviet invasion of Prague, Skvorecky and his wife fled to Canada, where he would teach at the University of Toronto. There they founded 68 Publishers and for two decades issued some of the most important Czech writing of the postwar era, including Milan Kundera's *The Unbearable Lightness of Being*. Smuggled into Czechoslovakia, those books sustained a literary underground that the government couldn't suppress. "Circumstances may change," Skvorecky said in 1989, "but there's a core of human experience that remains essentially the same. That, if anything, is my message." —NATE RAWLINGS

DIED

Eve Arnold, 99, one of the first women photographers to join the elite. *Magnum Agency*; she captured candid shots of Hollywood stars like Marilyn Monroe.

SHIFTED

The curriculum of the next *Sesame Street* season to focus on science, engineering and math, part of an effort to encourage young children to study the subjects.



WON

The BCS National Championship, by the University of Alabama; the Crimson Tide defeated LSU 21-0 to win its 14th title, the second under coach Nick Saban.

DIED

Gordon Hirabayashi

In the months after the attack on Pearl Harbor, a presidential order allowed the U.S. military to force 120,000 Japanese Americans living on the West Coast into inland internment camps. Gordon Hirabayashi, who died Jan. 2 at 93, refused to register, was convicted of violating the order and served 90 days in prison. In 1944, the Supreme Court upheld the legality of the internment. "Our Constitution was reduced to a scrap of paper," Hirabayashi said in 1985, after appealing his case a second time. Two years later, a federal court overturned his conviction, and in 1988, the government apologized and paid \$1.2 billion in reparations to the affected citizens. Hirabayashi, who became a prominent sociologist, later concluded: "It wasn't necessarily the Constitution that failed me. It was the people who were placed in the responsibility of upholding the Constitution."



DIED

Anne Tyng

By Carter Wiseman

Anne Tyng, who died Dec. 27 at 91, went to Radcliffe and the Harvard Graduate School of Design. You can't get better credentials than that, but she had to put up with being a smart, beautiful woman in an architectural profession run by men. She was fascinated by the role of geometry in design. In collaborations with the great American architect Louis Kahn, her lover for a time, she deeply influenced two of his signal projects, the Trenton Bath House and the Yale University Art Gallery. Kahn was interested in geometry, but Tyng, influenced by Buckminster Fuller, believed it had a spiritual dimension.



Wiseman is the author of *Louis I. Kahn: Beyond Time and Style*

CLEARED

Malaysian opposition leader Anwar Ibrahim, of sodomy charges after a three-year court battle, paving the way for him to run in the next round of elections.

UNVEILED

The 2013 Ford Fusion at the Detroit Auto Show; the hybrid model is expected to achieve an estimated fuel efficiency of 100 m.p.g.

DIED

Eleanor Ross Taylor, 91, a poet who emerged from the shadow of her writer-husband Peter Taylor to find success with verse about women's lives in the South.

Fareed Zakaria



The Real Threat in the Middle East

Islamic political parties don't endanger democracy. Powerful leaders do

AS 2011 WAS COMING TO A CLOSE, Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu made a remarkable speech to his parliament. Assessing the Arab Spring barely a year after it had begun, Netanyahu announced triumphantly that it had failed, that events had confirmed his extreme suspicion about the pro-democracy movements in the region. The Arab Spring was moving the Middle East "not forward, but backward."

Netanyahu seems to endorse the Syrian regime's approach to political protest. During the uprising in Egypt, he wanted the U.S. to stubbornly cling to Hosni Mubarak—who had cooperated with Israel on mutual security issues—as millions of Egyptians gathered in public squares across the country to demand democracy. But leaving that aside, the evidence for Netanyahu's pessimism now is that parties advocating an Islamic approach to politics have won pluralities in Egypt's first post-Mubarak elections. None of these parties have abrogated civil liberties or persecuted minorities or limited women's rights. Each party has promised to abide by constitutional processes. This may all be a ruse, and they may prove less liberal over time—some surely will—but there is little current evidence from which to draw the sweeping conclusions that Netanyahu did.

In fact, the growth of democracy in the Middle East is under substantial threat, but not from Islamic democrats. The threat arises from the lingering authoritarian impulse of those in power—from ruling political parties and from the military. Obsessed with political Islam, we are ignoring the real danger on the ground.

Consider Egypt. While Netanyahu is fretting about Islamic parliamentarians, the Egyptian military has been busily consolidating its control. A few weeks ago, the

government raided the offices of 10 civic organizations whose only mission is to promote democracy, the rule of law and civil rights. It accused a few of these groups, such as Freedom House and the International Republican Institute, of receiving funds from the U.S.

Egypt's military has used the traditional tools of authoritarian regimes to retain power—arrests, torture, military trials and scaremongering. In Iraq, six years af-



ter the country's first free elections, Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki is using more unusual methods to cement his grip on the country. He has ordered the arrests of leading politicians—including his own Vice President (who comes from another sect and political party)—centralized the army and intelligence services and inserted his own party, the Dawa, into most of the major organs of government. Many Iraqis believe that Maliki refused to cut a deal with Washington so that American troops would have to leave Iraq and leave him unconstrained.

The most complex case is Turkey, where the former head of the military, General

Ilker Basbug—one of 60 officers accused of a conspiracy to topple the democratically elected government of Recep Tayyip Erdogan—was arrested last week. These arrests are cited as one more piece of evidence that Turkey is turning away from its secular roots and toward Islamic fundamentalism.

Prime Minister Erdogan speaks in blunt ways and is a populist. But he has done nothing—no changes in laws or practices—to warrant the charge that he is dismantling secularism. In fact, Erdogan's government has passed more economic and political reforms than any other Turkish government in history. It has made unprecedented concessions to Turkey's Kurdish minority. In its quest to secure European Union membership for

Turkey, Erdogan's AK Party has passed hundreds of pieces of legislation over the past several decades to make Turkey's political system conform to the guidelines set out by the Brussels bureaucrats. And by the way, the Turkish military has, over the years, planned and executed four coups against elected governments, so it is not inconceivable that it had been planning a fifth.

If there is a worry regarding Turkey, it is not about political Islam but about the autocratic tendencies of a wildly popular politician. Turkey has a highly authoritarian legal system, a legacy of its military era. (A human rights group notes that about half the nation's prisoners have never been charged with crimes.) And Erdogan, having won his third thumping electoral victory, has used this system to harass opponents, including politicians, journalists and generals.

In other words, the danger in the Middle East is not that Islam corrupts but that power corrupts. A more open and democratic system is no panacea, but it will begin to create a more normal, modern politics for the region, one that will allow for populism and demagoguery but also provide greater accountability, transfers of power and media oversight. And that will move the Middle East forward, not back. ■

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Revenge of the Aloof

Romney is losing the populist primary, but that won't keep him from winning the nomination

I'VE BEEN WATCHING FOX NEWS' ELECTION coverage throughout the Republican primaries, and it is a fascinating thing to behold—more fair and balanced than expected but decidedly subdued. On election night in New Hampshire, the reaction to Mitt Romney's victory by Fox's in-house conservative pundits, Stephen Hayes and Bill Kristol, both of the *Weekly Standard*, was tepid at best, a grudging "well, you gotta give him credit" sort of reaction, not unlike their more heterodox peers on CNN and MSNBC.

Romney had just become the first Republican nonincumbent ever to win in both Iowa and New Hampshire. He had proved in two New Hampshire debates that he was a professional in a field of amateurs, able to deliver a message, attack his opponents and fend off attacks in simple, effective declarative sentences. He had given a sharp, smart victory speech that briskly presented the choice between his candidacy and Barack Obama's: "He wants to turn America into a European-style entitlement society," Romney said. "We want to ensure that we remain a free and prosperous land of opportunity." Actually, Romney had read those words off a teleprompter, a piece of equipment much derided by Republicans during the Obama presidency—and in a way, Romney's need for a script, his inability to summon passionate eloquence spontaneously, is what has people like Hayes and Kristol, who want a warrior able to eviscerate the President, so disappointed.

A few nights before the primary, I watched Romney perform in Exeter, N.H., at one of the weirder rallies I've ever attended. He delivered his usual stump speech, a dreadful agglomeration of political clichés—almost entirely substance-free—that culminated in the

candidate's reciting lines from "America the Beautiful," a forlorn attempt to rent some fervor. Then he turned the microphone over to the evening's main speaker, Governor Chris Christie of New Jersey. This was something I'd never seen before: a candidate working as the warm-up act for one of his endorsers. Christie, who is as comfortable in his bulk as the actor John Goodman used to be (when he was



bulky), immediately took control of the stage and the room. He called Obama "the most pessimistic man I've ever seen in the Oval Office." Why? Because Obama believes the "American pie is as large as it will ever get" and wants to redistribute it. "I believe the American pie is limitless," said Christie, with the obvious conviction of a man who knows his pies. The contrast between Romney blah and Christie ardent was embarrassing.

Newt Gingrich nailed Romney's non-debate, nonteleprompter performances, his attempts at candor, in a simple phrase: "pious baloney." Gingrich was referring to the "Aw, shucks, I'm just an amateur running against career politicians" nonsense

that Romney had peddled in the debates. But Romney's "Aw, shucks, I'm just an average guy who feared getting a pink slip when I was just starting out" bid at normality also reeked of it. In fact, Romney seemed to get into trouble whenever he calculated that either candor or passion was needed on the stump. His disastrous "I like to fire people" was certainly taken out of context—he was talking about the joy of making choices in a free market—but it was, I think, the result of an awkward effort to show enthusiasm and sound unscripted. Sort of like the \$10,000 wager he proposed to Rick Perry in one of the debates. (If Perry weren't such a perfect clod, he might have responded, "Ten thousand dollars? That's a little rich for me. I'll bet you a six pack.")

I have a certain sympathy for Romney in his chunky attempts to navigate the ceremonies of common humankind. He seems like a nice guy; he has a nice family. By all accounts, he's a very smart fellow. His debate performances have shown that he can be spontaneous when it comes to serious stuff—his dismantling of Herman Cain's "apples and oranges" attempt to distinguish between national and local sales taxes was a rapid-fire example—but he isn't the sort of guy you'd want to have an alcohol-free beer with. The beer-buddy test, of course, can be filed under the category of "populist baloney," a metastasizing tendency in American politics. Authenticity is rapidly becoming a euphemism for simple ignorance. Cain was authentic; Sarah Palin was authentic. Elitists—people who have actually studied complicated stuff and become experts at it—are phonies. Just ask Rush Limbaugh.

Romney is about to have a near death experience in South Carolina, but this may be a year when elitism gets the last laugh. The general election promises to be a contest between two aloof sorts, good debaters and text-anchored orators lacking the common touch. Gentlemen, start your teleprompters!

ELECTION 2012

The Race
Moves South



Waiting for Romney Politics in South Carolina, say GOP veterans, is more like a blood sport

Photograph by Callie Shell for TIME



They Don't Call It the Low Country for Nothing

BY MICHAEL CROWLEY/COLUMBIA

ASK A VETERAN OF SOUTH CAROLINA politics to name the ugliest chapter in his state's low-down and dirty political history and he may be slow to answer. Not because he's offended, but because there are so many acts of dark magic to choose from. There was the breathtaking smear campaign mounted against Senator John McCain during the state's 2000 presidential primary, including the subterranean charge that McCain's adopted Bangladeshi daughter was in fact his illegitimate black child. Eight years later, there were the bogus Mormon holiday cards sent to voters, purportedly from then candidate Mitt Romney, who was not eager to discuss his religion in this deeply Christian state. Two weeks before the state's 2010 Republican gubernatorial primary, a local operative described his alleged adulterous affair with the race's eventual winner, Nikki Haley, which he later recounted right down to the details of an "eighth-grade make-out session" in the back of an SUV. Haley denied the claims.

More-seasoned veterans might reach back to the 1978 phone calls pointedly "asking" voters' opinions about the faith of a Jewish candidate for Congress. Or the curious case two years later of the reporter who asked a Democratic congressional candidate about his history of "psychotic treatment." "There's no question that we play hardball," says South Carolina Republican Congressman Tim Scott. "It's a blood sport here."

That fact is not lost on any of the Republican presidential candidates as they swarm South Carolina ahead of its Jan. 21 primary—a contest that no Republican nominee has lost in 32 years. While it's true that politics is rarely a gentleman's game, South Carolina is in a league of its own. Beneath its Southern charm, the Palmetto State has a hard-earned reputation for mean, dishonest and often hard-to-trace character assassination. By virtue of its place on the primary calendar, it may also be the last

place to hobble Romney before his nomination is assured. "If Romney wins South Carolina, it's game over, basically," says Scott. "So you've got to stop him here."

Romney's rivals don't deny it. Rick Perry compares his stand in South Carolina to the Alamo. Newt Gingrich says that "it would be very hard" to carry on after another loss. "We have to finish really well there," Rick Santorum says. "Some candidates have nothing left to do but get desperate," warns Tommy Hartnett, a former Congressman from South Carolina and a Romney backer. "And generally, when they do that, they get more negative."

The airwaves already reflect South Carolina's last-stand intensity. Over \$9 million has already been spent on advertising by the campaigns and their allies. The super PAC (political-action committee) supporting Gingrich has dropped at least \$1.6 million and may spend nearly \$2 million more. Rick Santorum's camp plans to spend \$1.5 million. And the pro-Romney Restore Our Future is already defending the front runner with more than \$2 million.

At a Jan. 8 event at Chiefs Wings and Firewater restaurant in Greenville, Santorum directed the packed crowd's attention to a row of television screens over the bar tuned to a football game. "Hey, who's that on TV up there!" he said excitedly, as an image of his face beamed out. But Santorum seemed unfamiliar with the advertisement. "That's some group out there running it for us. We're grateful to them." By the time he was done speaking, ads for Romney and Ron Paul had also floated across the row of screens.

On TV and radio here, Gingrich and Perry are already hammering Romney for allegedly looting small businesses while he was an executive at Bain Capital in the 1980s. Gingrich has also unveiled an ad spotlighting Romney's changed position on abortion, charging that his Massachusetts health care law included "taxpayer-funded abortions" and concluding, "He



can't be trusted." These are just warm-up acts. As one Santorum adviser says of the next primary fight, "It's gonna be bloody." It almost always is.

SOUTH CAROLINA POLITICOS SAY THE state's anything-goes culture has existed for decades, and they trace it back to one man: Harvey Leroy "Lee" Atwater. During the 1980s, the brash Republican operative, known for playing blues guitar with as much zest as savaging opponents, became a local political kingmaker. It was Atwater who was widely accused of planting that press question about a Democratic candidate's mental health. He denied that specific charge but gladly told reporters the man in question had once been "hooked up to jumper cables." He was also accused of—and also denied—masterminding the 1978 telephone poll that repeatedly asked pointed questions about congressional candidate Max Heller's Jewish faith. Atwater would rocket to stardom as George H.W. Bush's 1988 campaign manager and Republican Party chairman before his death from cancer at age 40. Back in South Carolina, he left behind disciples and admirers of his remorseless style, as expressed when



Southern comfort Romney, speaking in Charleston, is backed by Republican Governor Nikki Haley and John McCain

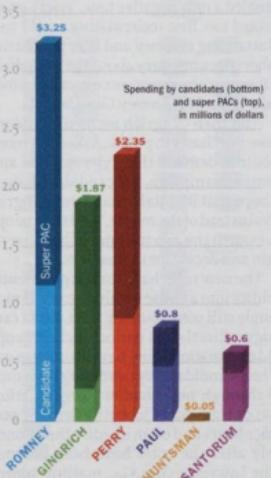
he vowed at the start of Bush's campaign against Michael Dukakis to "strip the bark off the little bastard." The Atwater style, says local Republican operative and blogger Will Folks, "is part of the playbook. That sort of whisper campaign."

Sometimes it's more than a whisper. In 1990 a GOP operative named Rod Shealy was trying to help his sister win a race for lieutenant governor. Hoping to drive up white turnout in the race, he recruited an unemployed black man with a criminal record to run for Congress, paying him \$900 and covering his \$2,400 filing fee. Shealy was convicted of violating state campaign laws but paid just a \$500 fine and returned to politics after a short hiatus.

THE LAST TIME MITT ROMNEY PASSED through South Carolina, he learned about Atwater's legacy the hard way. In addition to those phony holiday cards, there was an e-mail sent to GOP activists from the address upstaterepublican@gmail.com on the eve of a Spartanburg straw poll. Its subject line was "Mitt Romney has a family secret he doesn't want you to know," and the message urged readers to trust their "dark suspicions" about Mormonism. But Romney could have an easier go of it this time

Spending on TV and Radio Ads In South Carolina

What candidates and super PACs have shelled out



around. He leads in the polls and faces a splintered opposition in Paul, Gingrich, Santorum and Jon Huntsman. They are sure to spend some of their money shooting at one another. "It's very likely," Folks explains, that "someone will attempt to make an issue of Romney's faith in a way that their fingerprints are not on it." But he adds that it is also "very likely" that Santorum's folks would try to influence those folks in regard to Gingrich's marriages. Meanwhile, Paul seems particularly annoyed by Santorum. "This is a mean state," former South Carolina Republican chairman Katon Dawson, a Perry supporter, recently told the *Los Angeles Times*. "It's going to get personal."

Yet there are signs the old Palmetto witchcraft may be fading. The state's conservative bent is straightening as out-of-staters, many of them from the North, retire to its balmy coast. These voters tend to be more interested in their IRAs than ideology. Despite talk that Evangelical Christians here will reject Romney for reasons of faith, a January Public Policy Polling survey found that only 18% of likely Republican-primary voters would be uncomfortable with a Mormon President. Since 2002, the coastal town of Myrtle Beach has been represented in Columbia by a Mormon. And look no further than the 2010 election of Nikki Haley, who is both female and dark-skinned, a product of her Indian heritage. Haley may have been accused of adultery and called "a raghead" by a state senator, but it wasn't enough to derail her nomination or election on a Republican ticket. "We have a much more diverse Republican-primary electorate," says local Republican consultant Chip Felkel.

All that gives local politicos grounds to protest their state's gutter reputation. "It's been blown way out of proportion. I don't think ours are any different than elections in Florida or Chicago or New York," says Romney adviser Warren Tompkins, one of the state's most famed operatives. Tompkins says he hopes the race can focus on the issues. But those who know his reputation as a fierce dark-arts practitioner say he protests too much and that the reality is likely to be the opposite. —WITH REPORTING BY ALEX ALTMAN/MANCHESTER, N.H., AND ELIZABETH DIAS/WASHINGTON

Attack of the Super PACs!

A secretive new breed of spending groups is changing the way campaigns are being lost and won

BY MICHAEL SCHERER

AT THE MOMENT, MITT ROMNEY'S worst nightmare is an earnest former aide to Newt Gingrich named Rick Tyler, who sits on a \$5 million pile of cash that he plans to turn into a negative ad campaign aimed at the former Massachusetts governor.

Tyler runs Gingrich's super PAC—a theoretically independent committee of affluent Newt Gingrich supporters who have been working since last month to help the former House Speaker win the GOP nomination. Arriving just in time for the 2012 race, thanks to a landmark Supreme Court decision, super PACs are outraising and outspending the campaigns, supposedly without any coordination with the candidates.

Even Tyler finds this situation absurd.

Super PACs, he admits, are "a horrible abomination for a freedom-loving people in a constitutional republic." So are campaign-finance rules that allow his organization, Winning Our Future, to purchase an anticipated \$3.4 million in South Carolina television time in the coming weeks to cast Romney as a corporate raider who profited from firing people. Doing this while maintaining a measure of independence from Gingrich, as the rules demand, requires what Tyler calls "a big shell game."

The game works like this. The Supreme Court says unlimited campaign contributions from corporations, unions and billionaires are potentially corrupting. This is why casino king Sheldon Adelson, owner of the Venetian and a longtime Gingrich friend, is allowed to give only \$2,500 to Gingrich's 2012 primary campaign. But a series of court rulings in 2010 created another option: Adelson can write a seven-figure check to Tyler,

Gingrich's ally and friend, who will spend the money as Gingrich wants it spent. The catch? Tyler, who worked for Gingrich a few months ago and still considers him "like family," is barred from speaking with his candidate or the campaign directly about the ads or his spending strategy.

But this is hardly an impediment. "I follow my lead from Newt Gingrich," Tyler explains. "I watch what he says on TV. I read about him in the newspaper." A few weeks ago, when Gingrich was running a positive campaign in Iowa, Winning Our Future spent hundreds of thousands of dollars on largely positive ads. But when Gingrich signaled a new negative tone, Tyler's group pivoted too, first recirculating an old 2008 ad attacking Romney and later purchasing a short documentary about the underbelly of Romney's business success, called *King of Bain: When Mitt Romney Came to Town*.

And then Gingrich seemed to endorse those purchases in public. Asked in a recent debate to demand that Tyler stop the anti-Romney campaign, the candidate dodged. "I hope that it's totally accurate," Gingrich says instead of the movie, "and then people can watch the 27½ minutes of his career at Bain and decide for themselves."

The new rules have turned presidential politics into a house of mirrors: while most people still contribute up to \$2,500 to campaigns directly, the nation's richest people and corporations now have an outsize way to help candidates by funneling their money through new shadowy organizations that operate out of lobbying firms or post-office boxes and often identify their donors only after the votes have been counted. (The Lawrenceville, Ga., mailing address for Winning Our Future also serves as a

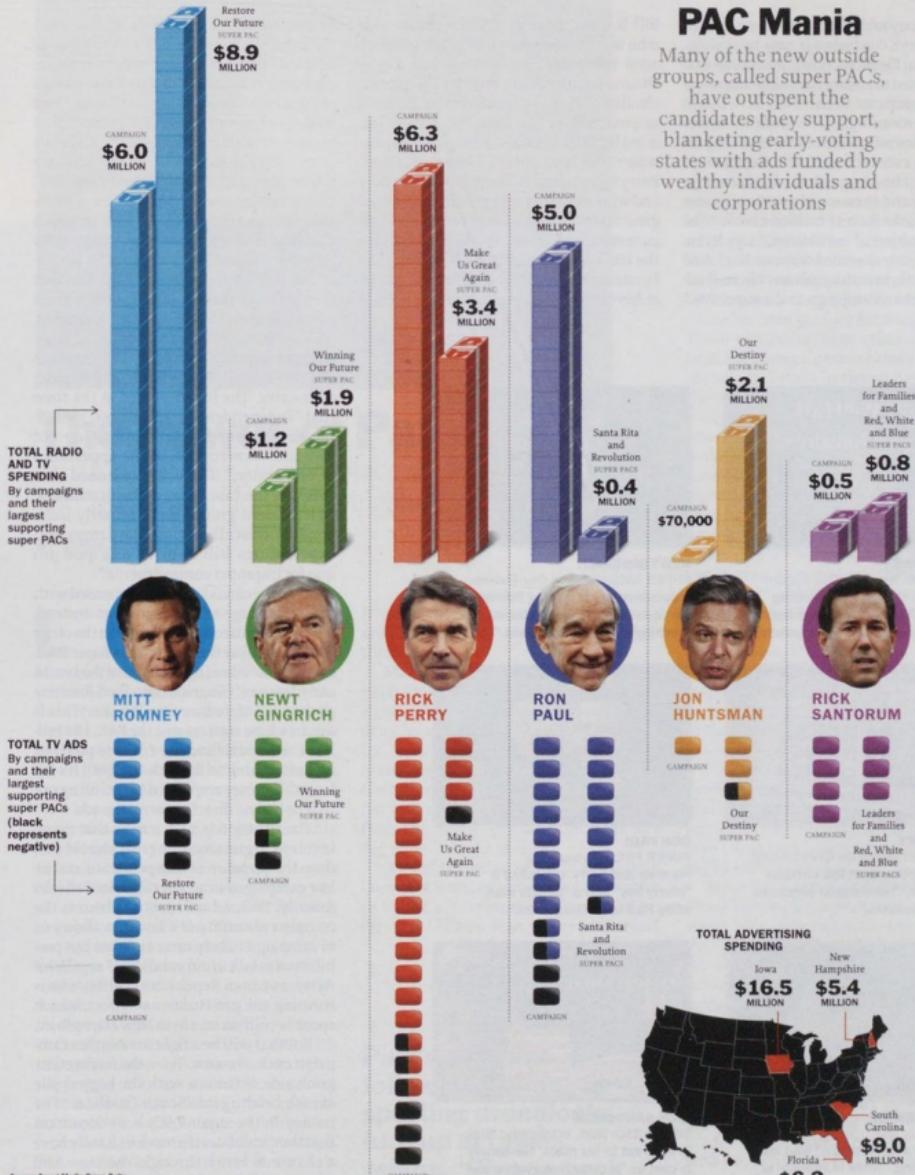
mail drop for companies that market skin creams, house painters and wall coverings.)

Not since before the post-Watergate reforms of the 1970s have wealthy individuals, unions and corporations had so much freedom to affect elections with large sums of money. Old rules that prevented these outside groups from directly advocating the election or defeat of a candidate as they wished are simply no longer in effect. "More special-interest contributions are coming in this election than in any previous election in this nation's history," explains Paul Ryan, a lawyer for the Campaign Legal Center, which supports stricter regulation of money in politics.

Gingrich isn't the only one to benefit; all of the candidates have super PACs, each distinguished by an unobjectionable-sounding, vaguely patriotic name. There are Make Us Great Again (Rick Perry); Red, White and Blue (Rick Santorum); and Our Destiny (Jon Huntsman). A group called Restore Our Future, run by former Romney aides out of Clark Hill, a Washington law and lobbying firm, outspent the Romney campaign on television in Iowa with a slew of biting attacks against Gingrich. The group is poised to do the same in South Carolina. Rather than keep his distance, Romney has legally appeared at fundraisers for the group, and he has effectively endorsed its efforts, which so far have consisted almost entirely of negative ads targeting Gingrich. "I know the people there," Romney said in a recent radio interview. "Of course, I helped raise money for it." When asked by a New Hampshire voter about a \$1 million donation given to the group by an old Romney friend, the candidate mischaracterized it as a donation to his campaign. "He gave to

PAC Mania

Many of the new outside groups, called super PACs, have outspent the candidates they support, blanketing early-voting states with ads funded by wealthy individuals and corporations



me," Romney said. "He's given to me before."

Romney's confusion is easy to explain. The Federal Election Commission rules that are supposed to ensure the independence of outside groups are so narrowly drawn as to border on meaningless. For instance, under the law, Romney is barred from asking for money in excess of \$5,000 for Restore Our Future, but he can speak at a fundraiser for the group and then stand next to a former aide who asks for a \$1 million check. "The legal definition of *coordination*," says Ryan, "is completely divorced from reality." And there is little to restrict advisers from floating between a campaign and a super PAC.

Bill Burton, a former White House aide who was a spokesman for Barack Obama's 2008 campaign, has established a pro-Obama independent group for the general election that is expected to raise as much as \$100 million this year. The Perry effort is led by Mike Toomey, a longtime adviser who owns land in New Hampshire with Perry's campaign strategist David Carney and whose offices are in Austin across Congress Street from the Perry campaign. Last summer, Fred Davis, the lead adman for the Huntsman campaign, left it to join the Huntsman super PAC. The first ad he cut at his new job echoed the central themes

of the Huntsman candidacy and even cited the same favorable *Wall Street Journal* editorial that Huntsman often cites. The close ties between candidates and groups taking million-dollar donations in their names are now so taken for granted that no one even tries to hide them. Officials from both the Gingrich and the Romney efforts have admitted that their super-PAC proxy armies are gearing up for a probable winner-take-all showdown in South Carolina. And while some campaign aides grumble that they would rather be in control of all the funds, there is no doubt that they welcome the extra help in the costliest part of campaigns—television advertising.

This domination of the political landscape by super PACs has left the Supreme Court's decision that created them looking a bit naive. The Justices ruled at the time that "independent expenditures, including those made by corporations, do not give rise to corruption or the appearance of corruption." The court reasoned that this was the case because the candidates' independent groups were actually independent, thus alleviating "the danger that expenditures will be given as a quid pro quo for improper commitments."

Even the candidates have dispensed with paying homage to this argument. Instead, it's commonplace to complain that the other fellow is calling the shots at his super PAC, even if he is following the letter of the law. In early January, Gingrich described Romney as the CEO of Restore Our Future: "This is a man whose staff created the PAC. His millionaire friends fund the PAC. He pretends he has nothing to do with the PAC. It's a lonely," Romney responded by pointing out that he had no direct input on the ads.

The situation is such a mess that many involved argue that Congress should just drop the pretense of independence and allow campaigns to accept unlimited checks directly. "What I will grouse about is the complete absurdity of a law that allows us to campaign to help one candidate but prohibits us to talk to our candidate," says Whit Ayres, a veteran Republican pollster who is running the pro-Huntsman effort, which spent \$2 million on ads in New Hampshire.

But that will be a fight for another campaign cycle. For now, Tyler, the former Gingrich aide, is the one with the biggest pile of cash heading into South Carolina. "The money in the super PACs is so dominant that the candidates themselves hardly have a chance to break through," he says. And when candidates have friends like super PACs, they hardly need to. ■

Haven't We Had Enough Mistakes?

MITT ROMNEY

SUPER PAC: Restore Our Future
A montage of Gingrich admitting past mistakes ends with a question: "Haven't we had enough mistakes?"



NEWT GINGRICH

SUPER PAC: Winning Our Future
A documentary attacking Romney's success at Bain Capital claims, "Nothing mattered but greed."



RICK PERRY

SUPER PAC: Make Us Great Again
Perry is portrayed as the outsider who claims, "Washington elites are wrecking America."



RON PAUL

SUPER PAC: Revolution
Romney and Perry are called a "pretty boy" and a "plastic man," while Paul is a "statesman."



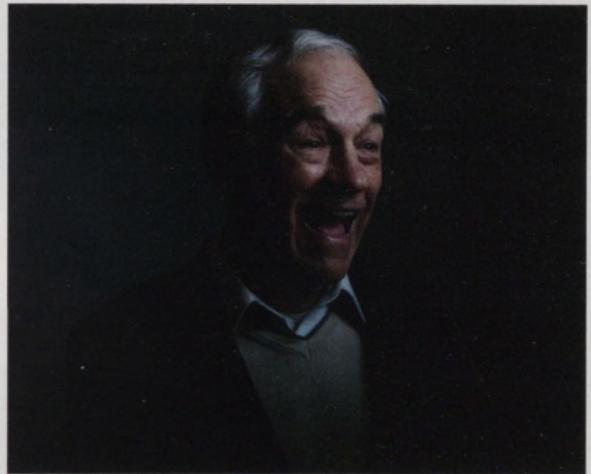
JON HUNTSMAN

SUPER PAC: Our Destiny
Romney is a "chameleon" who will "say anything," while Huntsman is the "consistent conservative."



RICK SANTORUM

SUPER PAC: Red, White and Blue
In contrast to his rivals, Santorum is cast as "a true conservative we can trust."



The Power of Paulitics

With his strong second-place showing, the Texan is no longer a sideshow

BY MARK HALPERIN

LIBERTARIAN RON PAUL, ONCE DISMISSED as an intriguing, entertaining but irrelevant fringe candidate, has emerged from the first two contests with undeniable clout. Barring some unforeseen drama, he will almost certainly end the nomination season with the second highest number of delegates. Paul, 76, no longer can be called fringe. He captured more than 1 in 5 votes in Iowa and New Hampshire.

In those states, Paul was the only candidate other than Romney with the funds to invest in basic campaign nuts and bolts: telephoning and e-mailing voters, recruiting local leaders and flooding the airwaves with TV ads (many of which were poisonous attacks on his rivals). In a contest that has split the anti-Romney vote into several pieces, Paul has so far won the biggest share. His rallies are a festival of dissonance. The Congressman's Texas-dry, terse delivery contrasts with the unfailingly rapturous reaction of his supporters. His crowds don't seem to care that he speaks in elliptical shorthand, leaping from topic to topic and invoking hallowed Austrian economists at whim. The vast majority of people at Paul events arrive knowing exactly what the candidate believes in and why they love him.

He need only sing the first line of a song, and the full lyric sheet races through their heads.

Many are drawn to his core small-government message, but Paul also offers a grab bag of other libertarian elements: drug legalization, a limited role for the U.S. around the world, strict adherence to the Constitution and a purist's take on civil liberties. His debate performances, flat and self-referential, seem removed from the media spectacle but work as a dog whistle to the faithful.

A notable portion of Paul's supporters, known as Ronulans, are young and attracted by the uncompromising nature of his views. In the New Hampshire primary, all

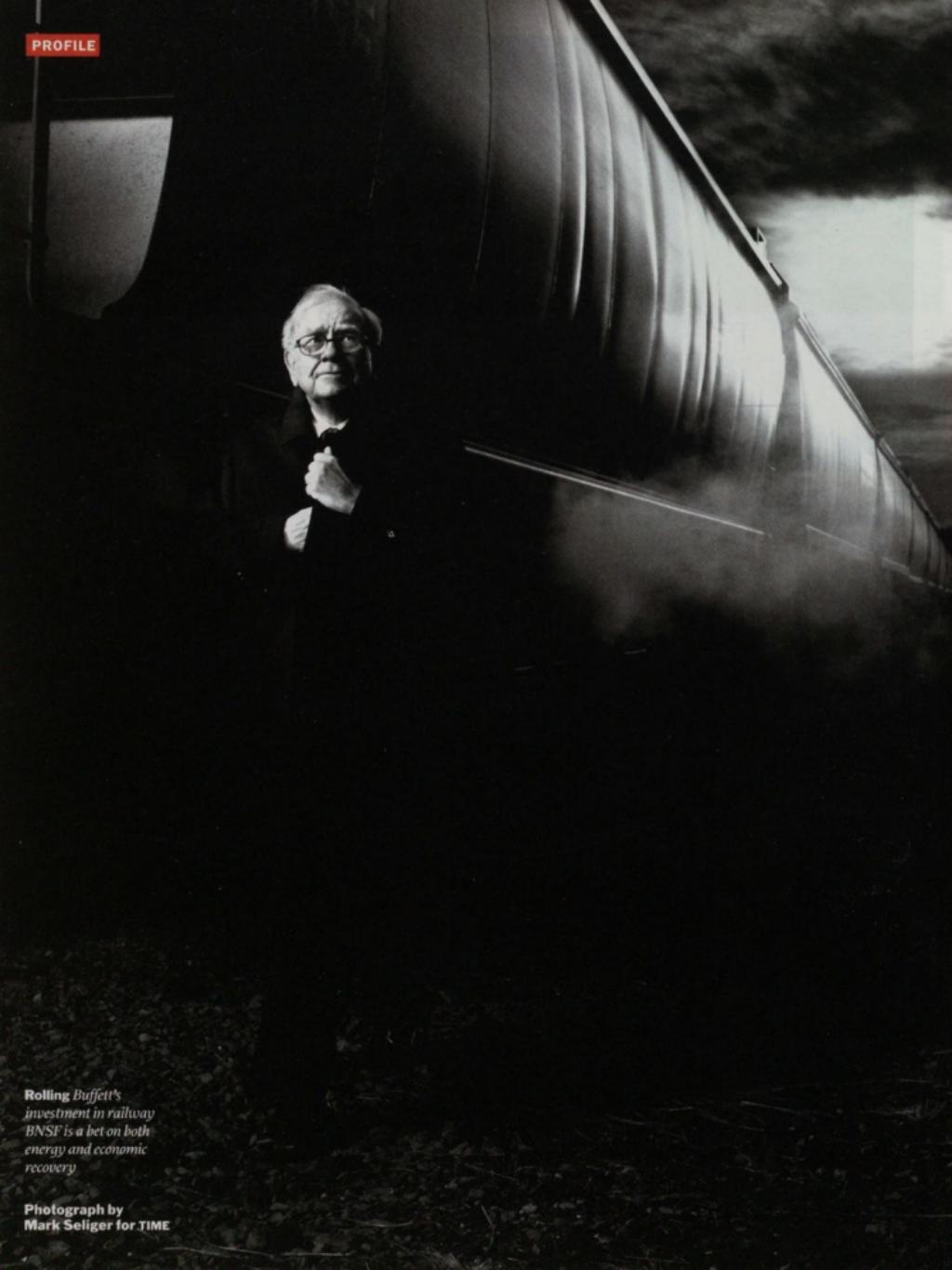
Paul's youthful followers, some sporting dreadlocks, turn up at rallies yelling, 'Give us back our Constitution!'

He won't back down Rivals call the 76-year-old Congressman dangerous. Sure, Paul says, he's dangerous to the status quo

most 50% of voters under the age of 30 cast their ballots for Paul. There's a geek-chic appeal for the teens and 20-somethings who go to his rallies, some sporting dreadlocks and hipster eyeglasses, letting out whoops and yells like "Give us back our Constitution!" Ronulans even like to turn up at rivals' events and engage their backers in debates. So far, Paul's cultish dominance has been good for Romney, since the Texan's surge has kept other candidates from becoming a genuine threat. If, as expected, Paul stays in the race to the end, the onetime ob-gyn is likely to rack up significant delegates in states with caucuses, where organization and enthusiasm matter more than they do in primaries. But he is unlikely to be able to spread the word in big states like Florida, which his campaign chief said last week would not see a huge investment of campaign funds.

Still, Paul's advisers insist it is now a two-person race between their man and the former Massachusetts governor. Romney may try to harmonize with Paul and his supporters on areas of agreement (Washington is too big; taxes shouldn't be raised), while criticizing the Congressman on foreign policy matters and Social Security. That would help Romney's move to the center for a general-election fight against Obama. How Romney treats Paul will matter. Paul has run as a third-party candidate before (in 1988) and could do so again. "It is no longer that irate, tireless minority that is stirring up the troops," he says. "Now that irate minority ... is growing by leaps and bounds!"

Some years ago, Paul ditched his dress shoes for black tennis shoes, which he wears with suits and while exercising on the campaign trail. (He likes that one pair can economically serve both purposes.) After taking the stage in his trademark footwear on the evening of the New Hampshire primary (to the tune of Tom Petty's "I Won't Back Down"), Paul began by telling a large banquet room of supporters that he had congratulated Romney on what was shaping up to be a big night. Clearly this was not the opening his fans were expecting. "But," he said with a mischievous look, "we're nibbling at his heels!" Uproar. —WITH REPORTING BY KATY STEINMETZ/MANCHESTER



**Rolling Buffett's
investment in railway
BNSF is a bet on both
energy and economic
recovery**

**Photograph by
Mark Seliger for TIME**

Warren Buffett Is on a Radical Track

By RANA FOROOHAR

Warren Buffett believes in making money. He believes in fairness. He believes in the ability of government to make people's lives better. But most of all, he believes in luck.

"I've had all this good fortune," Buffett says. "It starts with being born in this country, though. It starts with being born male in 1930."

Genes, luck and birthplace may have helped make Buffett the world's third richest man. But in the past year, his good fortune has also turned him into one of America's most unexpected radicals. He's an ardent capitalist who is demanding higher taxes on the rich and more government spending on the rest to solve our economic problems. Although he is giving away 99% of his \$45 billion fortune, he operates less out of a sense of noblesse oblige than noblesse outrage. The country that made him rich is lousy with bailout billionaires, a culture of selfishness and a loss of opportunities. "We can rise to any challenge but not if people feel we're in a plutocracy," he says. "We have to get serious about shared sacrifice."

Shared sacrifice, to Buffett, means not just higher taxes for the rich—who often pay extremely low rates on money made by moving money around—but also curbs on short-termism. He'd like to see speculative trading gains taxed at much higher rates. He believes CEOs of publicly bailed-out institutions should be on the hook for everything they own if their institutions go bust. He's only half joking when he says he'd like to see private schools banned so that rich families would be forced to invest in the public K-12 system. (No Buffett in Omaha has ever gone to a private school, he notes proudly.) And he's for a complete overhaul of health care, which he calls "a tapeworm in America," one that cuts corporate competitiveness far more than taxes do.

It's the opposite of the Darwinian capitalism embraced by many prominent conservatives who believe the market is the only means to distribute the economy's as-

sets. "The market system rewards me outlandishly for what I do," Buffett says, "but that doesn't mean I'm any more deserving of a good life than a teacher or a doctor or someone who fights in Afghanistan."

He doesn't want to stop bond traders from making their billions. "Capitalism has unleashed more human potential than any other system in history." But, he says, "we need a tax system that essentially takes very good care of the people who just really aren't as well adapted to the market system but are nevertheless doing useful things in society." Bond traders and corporate raiders of the world, take note: your higher taxes should subsidize bridge builders and child-care workers.

In Washington, where economic theory is now a partisan grudge match, the prospect of higher taxes and income redistribution enrages Republicans and their business and banking allies. Republican Mitch McConnell said last September that if Buffett felt guilty, he should just "send in a check." Republicans subsequently proposed a rule that would make it easier for millionaires—and McConnell is one—to voluntarily pay more taxes.

Buffett paid a tax rate of only 11% on adjusted gross income of \$62,855,038 in 2010. (After deductions, most of which were for charitable contributions, he paid a still low 17% rate on his \$39,814,784 of taxable income; his office staff, meanwhile, paid percentages somewhere in the 30s.) Asked if he's ever considered writing a check for what he thought his taxes should have been, he says, "I have thought about that. But what I've thought more about, because Mitch McConnell put it out there, is offering to match the total amount of voluntary contributions made by all Republican members of Congress. And I will. I'll go 1 for 1 with any Republican. And I'll go 3 for 1 with McCon-

nell." He chuckles. "And I'm not worried."

At 81, Buffett says he's in a unique position to speak out. "If you are a CEO or you have to deal with a conservative board or you have a boss that might get upset by what you say, you can't do what I do. But I don't have a boss. It's hard to hurt me. If you don't speak up now, when are you going to? As my partner Charlie told me, it's like saving up sex for your old age!"

AUSTERITY MEASURES

THE REASON PEOPLE LISTEN TO BUFFETT, AT a time when the 0.001% may not seem like the best public relations asset, is that in matters of finance he's very often right. But it's also that he's not like other billionaires.

Buffett lives not on an isolated island of wealth but in Omaha, in a shingle-roofed five-bedroom house on an unpretentious street that looks as if it might belong to a successful dentist. He bought it for \$31,500 in 1958. The corporation he runs, Berkshire Hathaway, owns 76 businesses—from a candy company to an electric utility—that throw off \$1 billion a month in free cash, and he holds major stakes in many of the country's biggest blue-chip firms, including Coca-Cola, American Express, IBM and Procter & Gamble. Yet aside from his indulgence in private air travel (he named his first jet the *Indefensible*), he estimates his personal yearly expenses to be no more than \$150,000. The company canteen in his small office suite, where he has a habit of walking around turning off lights in empty rooms, features a beat-up wooden table, a faux-leather sectional couch and Formica countertops.

His investment habits are as austere as the decor. In an age of leverage, he likes to steer clear of debt, preferring to keep from \$10 billion to \$20 billion of liquid

assets on hand at all times—"so that I can sleep better," he says. In a world of high-frequency traders with two-hour sell windows, Buffett's investment horizon is somewhere between 10 years and forever.

He grew up in Omaha and Washington as the son of a U.S. Congressman and was once president of the University of Pennsylvania's Young Republicans Club. Now he's President Obama's highest-profile supporter, a crusader for higher taxes on the millionaires' club. As he wrote in an op-ed article for the *New York Times* last summer, in which he noted that his personal tax rate was lower than that of his office staff, Washington needs to "stop coddling the superrich." Millionaires, says Buffett, should pay more taxes—a lot more. And companies certainly shouldn't pay any less.

His worry is that in this era of late-stage capitalism, the next generations won't be as lucky as he has been. The problem of inequality is likely, he says, to get worse. When people can't climb up the ladder, it's bad for the economy—and for his companies. He doesn't believe that the U.S. can innovate its way quickly back to a 1950s level of shared prosperity, nor does he think education will entirely close the gap. "The truth is that there will always be a bottom 10% in terms of capacity," he says. "Someone in America who has a 90-point IQ is qualified for many fewer jobs today than he was 100 years ago."

The solution, to him, is obvious. "People who make withdrawals from societies' resources—like me with my plane—should have to pay a lot for it." That means not only higher taxes for the rich and an extremely progressive European-style consumption tax but also fewer loopholes for corporations. Buffett says it's "baloney" that corporate America's tax rates are too high and says companies should not be allowed to repatriate profits tax-free. (It'll just encourage more investment to flow overseas.) In general, he says, "I find the argument that we need lower taxes to create more jobs mystifying, because we've had the lowest taxes in this decade and about the worst job creation ever."

THE INNER SCORECARD

IT'S EARLY DECEMBER IN OMAHA, AND snow is blowing horizontally across the windshield of Buffett's beige Cadillac DTS.

Dressed in a simple checked blue sport jacket, with his hearing aid pointed toward the passenger side of the car, he is driving me to lunch at the Happy Hollow Club. The car has no four-wheel drive and keeps skidding slightly, as Buffett, an enthusiastic speaker, takes his hands off the wheel regularly to gesticulate. I ask him why he doesn't have a driver, and he laughs. "Oh, gosh," he says. "I think if I did anything but drive myself around here, people would just think it was ridiculous!"

Everyone in town knows Buffett. At the country club, which resembles the one in the tiny Indiana farm town where I grew up, we are greeted by a gray-haired woman at a card table, who wishes us Merry Christmas and gives us a ticket for the brunch buffet. It's Sunday morning, and the place is full of families who look as if they've just come from church. Buffett, who has a soft elderly face but moves briskly, stacks a plate high with waffles, bacon and roast beef. Despite his Eisenhower-era diet, which includes 60 oz. of Coke (preferably Cherry) a day, Buffett remains surprisingly trim. "I haven't had a taste of broccoli or asparagus in years!" he boasts. "I formed my thoughts on eating at the age of 5, and I haven't changed them."

Buffett's cultural tastes are equally old school. His icon of beauty is Sophia Loren; his favorite movie is *The Bridge on the River Kwai*. And his views on wealth redistribution—which are basically the opposite of the trickle-down theory—go back even further, echoing those of another Nebraskan, progressive Democrat Wil-

liam Jennings Bryan, who believed that "if you legislate to make the masses prosperous, their prosperity will find its way up and through every class that rests upon it."

Buffett's maternal grandfather, writes Alice Schroeder in her excellent biography of Buffett, *The Snowball*, was an ardent supporter of Bryan. Buffett's father Howard, on the other hand, was a conservative; a grocer's son who went on to become a stockbroker and four-term Republican Congressman, he had an aversion to any sort of class system, as well as to debt. (He lobbied to put the U.S. back on the gold standard.) He was also an isolationist who agreed with Calvin Coolidge that the "chief business of the American people is business" and once passed out flyers calling Franklin D. Roosevelt and his welfare state the "greatest threat to democracy" that the U.S. had ever known.

Despite the political differences that would emerge between them, Howard Buffett was and is a hero to his son, in large part because he operated, both as a person and as a politician, by what Warren refers to as an inner scorecard. As Schroeder writes, Howard Buffett was "the least back-slapping Congressman ever to represent his state." He once turned down a raise because his constituents had voted him in at a lower salary. And he was shocked by the way his peers padded payrolls with friends, relatives, mistresses and fake expenses. It was truly *Mr. Smith Goes to Washington*.

Howard's propensity for acting on the basis of his conscience deeply influenced his son. His picture hangs on the wall in Buffett's office, along with a few other treasured possessions—a diploma for completing a Dale Carnegie course on "how to make friends and influence people," a 1973 Pulitzer Prize for a story on financial mismanagement at Boys Town given to the Omaha *Sun* (which Buffett then owned; last month he bought the Omaha *World-Herald*) and the Presidential Medal of Freedom, awarded to him by President Obama.

Buffett's other hero is his first wife Susan Thompson Buffett, who suffered from oral cancer and died in 2004. She too had the inner scorecard. "In everything that's been written about me, I've never felt that my wife was remotely done justice to," says Buffett. "She was just an incredibly wise and good person. She didn't do things with a metric attached to them. She was just as interested in one person as in



Power couple Buffett with his first wife Susan at a White House dinner for British Prime Minister Tony Blair in 1998

another. I couldn't say that about myself."

The two met in 1950 through Warren's sister Bertie, who attended Northwestern University with Susie. They married two years later, after Buffett had done a stint at Columbia Business School in New York City and gone to work as an investor on Wall Street and then for himself in Omaha. "She put me together," he says simply, and by all accounts, it's true. Susie was a born nurturer who took care of everything from dressing Warren to caring for their home and three children to arranging their social life and engaging with his family. Warren's mother Leila was a difficult woman prone to hysteria and vicious verbal attacks on her children. Susie headed her off and managed her needs so that Warren could be left to do what he was good at—making money.

But she was also responsible for deeper transformations, like Warren's conversion from Republican to Democrat. A civil rights supporter, Susie was involved in helping integrate Omaha in the 1960s, going so far as to front for blacks who wanted to buy houses in white neighborhoods. She took Warren to hear people like Martin Luther King Jr. speak. One speech in particular, given at Iowa's Grinnell College, became a turning point for Buffett. The topic was "Remaining Awake During a Revolution," and one line in particular chimed deeply with the young investor: "It may be true that the law can't change the heart," said King, "but it can restrain the heartless." It was something that Buffett began to think deeply about. Led by Susie, he became more involved in liberal politics, helping overturn anti-Semitic membership rules at the Omaha Club and doing Democratic fundraising at a national level.

It was the first time there had been space in Warren's life for anything outside of moneymaking, and it was Susie's doing. She was "a great giver," he says, "and I was a great taker." But the dichotomy eventually resulted in separation. After their children were grown, Susie, who hungered for a life of arts and culture that she could never have in Omaha and who wanted to pursue a career as a singer, decided to move out of their home and into an apartment in San Francisco. Warren reluctantly agreed. "We were like two parallel lines," she said in an interview with Charlie Rose two months before her death. "He was very intellectual, always reading and thinking big thoughts. I learned to have my own life."

But Susie worried about Warren, who was socially and practically inept. "I'm

BUFFETT'S WORLD. WHERE THE 1% MEETS THE 99%



Buffett's
net worth is
\$45 billion



BUY AND HOLD

Buffett once called his home, purchased for \$31,500 in 1958, Buffett's folly. Now he says it's his third best investment (after two wedding rings)

LIFE IN THE '50S
What Warren
watches. It's
Complicated
could be the title
of a movie about
his personal life



CRUISE CONTROL
Buffett drives a 2006
Cadillac DTS, which
he bought in support
of beleaguered former
GM CEO Rick Wagoner.
He says it's "a good
investment and a
great-looking car."



SECOND CHANCES
Buffett with Astrid
Menks, his second
wife, a former
maître d' and chef at
Omaha's French Café

lucky if I can get him to comb his hair," she said. "He needs help." So she introduced him to Astrid Menks, a hostess at a local French restaurant and a friend of Susie's who became his mistress and eventually, after Susie's death, his wife. "I called Astrid. I said, Astrid, will you take Warren, make him some soup, go over there and look after him?" She did. And she stayed. It all happened consensually; the three even sent out Christmas cards together. It worked for all of them. "He appreciates it, and I appreciate it," said Susie. "She's a wonderful person."

Seven years on from Susie's death, Buffett is still coming to terms with it all. When I ask if he regretted being apart from her in her final years, he insists, "We didn't live that separately. We were as connected in the last years of her life, perhaps more connected, than we'd ever been. We had exactly the same view of the world. We just didn't want to go about it in the same way." He tells me about her interview with Rose, the only major one she ever granted, which was done with his encouragement, because he wanted the world to better understand the woman who was most important to him.

Then his cheerful face crumples, and he bursts into tears. "Her death is—it's just terrible. It's the only thing that's really up there," he says, his voice shaking. "I still can't talk about it." It takes several moments, as we sit together at the table overlooking the golf course at the Happy Hollow Club, for Buffett to recover. I put my hand on his arm. Eventually, we move on to an easier subject—his investments.

BUY AMERICA

AS ANYONE WHO READS THE FINANCIAL press knows, Buffett is a "value investor," which means that he seeks to buy companies and stocks that are selling for less than they are fundamentally worth. It's a skill he learned from his Columbia Business School professor Benjamin Graham, whose book *The Intelligent Investor* Buffett memorized early in his career. Value investing is a task that involves forensic examination of a company's balance sheet. It was one to which Buffett, a numbers geek who'd read every book in the Omaha public library by the age of 11 and who enjoys poring over *Moody's Manuals* in his spare time while eating potato chips, was well suited. Even now, he can call to mind prodigious amounts of data, from the value of the Dow in 1932 to the number of housing starts needed to equal 2006 rates.

Buffett believes that once the housing market recovers, the U.S. economy will be back on track. "Once we get back to a million housing starts per year"—the current tally is 685,000—"I think pundits will be surprised just how fast unemployment will come down in this country," he says. "There are 4 million people hitting age 22 every year in this country. Sure, you can double up on households for a while, but at some point, hormones kick in, and living with your in-laws loses its allure." Buffett notes that nearly every one of his major nonhousing businesses has had several strong quarters, and Berkshire companies are making a record number of investments, the vast majority of which are



STAR POWER

Sophia Loren in her heyday. "She was it," says Buffett, who wants to be reborn as her boyfriend



His
biggest
indulgence

LIQUID ASSETS

Buffett claims to consume 60 oz. of Coke a day (and owns 8.6% of the company)



A JET SETTER

Buffett named his first jet the Indefensible. He says he spends over \$1 million a year in expenses related to private air travel



A SWEET DEAL

Berkshire Hathaway bought Dairy Queen in 1998. Buffett is frequently seen munching Dilly Bars



RESTAURANT

Like many things Buffett loves, this Omaha restaurant is family-owned. He prefers the veal and chicken parmigiana

in the U.S. "I am 100% sure that people in this country will be doing more business in years from now than they are today."

It's easier to have a bullish view on America from Omaha, where unemployment is only 4%, family-owned businesses abound, and the economy in general was never as bifurcated as in many coastal or Rust Belt areas. But Buffett insists his optimism isn't emotional but quantitative: he focuses not on media headlines about America's inevitable decline or cheerleading about innovation and education but on the underlying data. Basic demographics favor the U.S. over nearly every other rich country in the world. And with corporate America so lean and inventories so low, the growth engine, in his view, has to kick in soon.

The numbers over the past few months have been good: jobless claims are ticking down, and consumer confidence is up. That's great news for Berkshire, since Buffett's portfolio is made up almost exclusively of large U.S. companies and American blue-chip multinationals. Even in the midst of the financial crisis and recession that followed, he remained a U.S. bull. Berkshire spent \$15.6 billion in the 25 days after Lehman Brothers' September 2008 collapse, buying up many assets on the cheap. Although Berkshire lost 9.6% of its net worth in 2008, Buffett did better than most everyone else and came across as a stabilizing influence during the financial crisis, speaking out on behalf of the government's management efforts. (He wrote a "Dear Uncle Sam" thank-you letter for the bailouts to the Obama Administration in the *New York Times*.) "You can see what hap-

pens when you have a Plan B, as you have had in Europe, where people have dithered and been unable to come together," he notes. "I think Paulson, Bernanke, Geithner, Sheila Bair, President Bush and Obama—they all behaved magnificently."

In 2009, when investors were pulling money out of the U.S. and pouring it into emerging markets, Buffett bought BNSF (Burlington Northern Santa Fe), the country's second largest railroad, for \$33 billion. It was "the most important purchase Berkshire ever made," says Buffett. It was a bet on higher energy prices (which would favor coal-hauling railways over trucking firms) as well as on a general pickup in consumer demand. "Over time, the movement of goods in the United States will increase, and BNSF should get its full share of the gain," Buffett wrote in the 2010 Berkshire Hathaway annual report. "Buffett has bought himself an immensely stable business throwing off predictable returns for about half of what it's worth," says Whitney Tilson, a fund manager and co-founder of the Value Investing Congress, who follows Buffett and Berkshire Hathaway closely. "Railroads are never going to be usurped by China. In fact, Burlington will only benefit from more trade."

That underscores two crucial facts about much of Buffett's portfolio. First, it's built to be idiot-proof—many of the businesses are very conservative plays, such as utilities or top-shelf blue chips that throw off reliable, inflation-beating dividends. As owner of one of the largest reinsurance businesses in the world, Buffett has studied his actuarial tables; while he thinks it's a fair bet

that he'll be running the company in five years, he's preparing for the day when he's not. His successor will almost certainly be a trusted individual from within the company. Still, much of the goodwill capital of Berkshire lives in Buffett himself. Many of the best deals the company has done in recent years have come to him, rather than being sought out, because he confers such luster on any company he touches. Often he negotiates extremely preferential terms. For Buffett, buying a beleaguered institution like Bank of America is actually a relatively low-risk bet on the fact that U.S. financial institutions are emerging from the crisis stronger than their international peers, thanks to those generous government bailouts. It may take a while, even a decade, for banking to fully recover, but Buffett can afford to wait.

That reflects the second key point: many of Buffett's investments aren't bets on America so much as they are bets on the ability of American companies to continue exporting capitalism around the world. Companies like American Express, Coca-Cola, Kraft and Procter & Gamble are giant global franchises that get an increasing amount of their growth from emerging markets while still paying out a reliable dividend. They are in many ways safer than U.S. Treasury bills, which Buffett continues to hold as part of his cash-on-hand mantra, but begrudgingly. He would always, as he recently noted, rather buy "productive assets."

IBM, the global tech giant that Buffett bought into last year, is part of that strategy. The buy confused some industry observers, since Buffett has always shied away from tech stocks. But IBM is no longer primarily a tech company; it's a service company—one that makes a lot of its money doing the safe and steady work of helping governments and large businesses around the world automate themselves.

In a speech delivered at the famous Allen & Co. Sun Valley Conference in 1999, at the height of the Internet bubble, Buffett succinctly explained the virtues of being a Luddite: "[The automobile was] the most important invention, probably, of the first half of the 20th century. It had an enormous impact on people's lives. If you had seen at the time of the first cars how this country would develop in connection with autos, you would have said, 'This is the place I must be.' But of the 2,000 companies, as of a few years ago, only three car companies survived. So autos had an enormous impact on America but the opposite direction on investors."

SHARED SACRIFICE

BUFFETT'S INVESTMENTS MAY NOT BE snazzy, but they've nearly always been smart. While the value of Berkshire Hathaway is still somewhat smaller than before the financial crisis, net earnings are higher, and many of the company's largest businesses are on track for a record year. Forty-seven years ago, one share of Berkshire Hathaway was worth \$19. Today a single share is worth \$116,914.

I ask Buffett if, when he started, his aim was to be the richest man in the world. "I knew I wanted to make a lot of money. But that's because I knew I wanted to be independent. That was very important to me. The money itself is all going to charity," says Buffett, who in 2006 pledged 99% of his personal wealth to charity, with the bulk going to the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation. "I'm really just a steward of it for now." Supply siders like Arthur Laffer have tried to paint him as a hypocrite for his giving. A recent Laffer opinion piece in the *Wall Street Journal* bashed Buffett for, among other things, shielded income like unrealized capital gains (taxed at 0%) and charitable contributions (which are tax-deductible). "Well, I had a net unrealized loss last year," notes Buffett. "But if Arthur has a plan for how he wants to tax unrealized gains, I'd love to hear it. It's an interesting thing for a Republican to put forward!"

When Buffett isn't giving, he's teaching. Many of the rich and famous seek his counsel about business and philanthropy. Recent visitors include Fiat scion John Elkann and the Baroness de Rothschild, whom Buffett took to Piccolo's, the modest family-owned Italian steak house where we sit eating dinner. "She loved it here," Buffett says. "She had a root-beer float for dessert."

Just as important to Buffett as his philanthropy is his agenda for America. The independence afforded by great, leverage-free wealth has allowed him to speak out politically in recent months, something the conflict-averse financier has avoided most of his life. When asked about any of the very few controversial events in his life, Buffett tends toward deflection. The ignominious fall from grace of former Berkshire golden boy David Sokol (who resigned after revealing that he bought stock in a company before proposing it as a takeover target) is something he "just doesn't understand." He gives the ratings agency Moody's and the investment bank Goldman Sachs, both

WHAT WOULD WARREN DO?

DON'T LOWER CORPORATE TAXES

"The idea that American business is at a big disadvantage against the rest of the world because of high corporate taxes is baloney."

LEVY HIGHER TAXES ON THE RICH

Buffett would like to see people who earn their money from investing pay more than those who earn it through labor.

NO FOREIGN-PROFIT REPATRIATION

Allowing companies to repatriate profits from overseas tax-free creates moral hazard.

CURB SPECULATIVE GAINS

The idea that you can hold a stock for 10 seconds and have 60% of your gains taxed as "long term" is nuts, according to Buffett.

GET TOUGH ON DIRECTORS

They should forfeit five years' pay if their firms have to be bailed out; CEOs and their spouses should be on the hook for their net worth.

GET RID OF PRIVATE SCHOOLS

He says (only half jokingly), if there were fewer of them, more rich families would invest in public K-12 education.

REFORM HEALTH CARE

It's "a tapeworm in America," one that cuts competitiveness far more than taxes do.

of which he owns stakes in, a pass for dubious behavior during the financial crisis, as they were both a part of "a mass delusion. Everyone felt houses couldn't go down."

Unlike many liberals, he's not a great believer in regulation as a curb for corporate excess. He doesn't want to crush Wall Street's animal spirits or control market volatility or cap executive pay by force; better tax policy would take care of all that, in his view. He's not worried that rising inequality is going to result in social unrest, at least in Middle America. "I drove by Occupy Omaha, and there was maybe one guy there," he says. "I just don't think this is a country that has the tinder for social instability. I mean, the classic test of that was actually the 2000 election. If you think about it, half the people in America felt that they were screwed,

and the next day, they all went to work."

But on taxes and the debilitating growth of partisan politics, he doesn't mince words. He was horrified by the debt-ceiling debacle this summer and shocked that Republicans were willing to play a game of political chicken with the goodwill and faith put in the world's reserve currency. He was disappointed that so many financiers who'd supported Obama and received the benefits of the financial bailouts were unwilling to support higher taxes to help close the deficit.

He's also got a few choice words about the Republican presidential candidates and their ideas about bootstrapping and "merit" economies. "This whole business about Newt Gingrich going down to Occupy and saying, 'They ought to be getting a job,' that's just—you know, maybe they can be historians for Freddie Mac too and make \$600,000 a year." When I ask whether Mitt Romney is a job creator or destroyer, Buffett says that while businesses shouldn't hang on to people they don't need, "I don't like what private-equity firms do in terms of taking out every dime they can and leveraging [companies] up so that they really aren't equipped, in some cases, for the future."

As for President Obama—should he win re-election—Buffett would like to see him lay out the truth about the road ahead to the American people. "I think that the American people would be pretty responsive to shared sacrifice if it was really shared and they knew what to expect," says Buffett. "I've always thought that part of my job at Berkshire is telling people what they should expect and what they shouldn't expect from us. I don't want to be held to things I can't do. On the other hand, I shouldn't totally downplay what can be done just to create a phony target."

Buffett feels the President missed an opportunity to do that right after he took office. But he's optimistic that it can still be done. "We need to tell people that the road is going to be long. We've got too many damn houses. They're not going to go away. This recovery is going to take a long time. And the financial crisis has exposed a lot of flaws in our system." But the flaws can be fixed. With the right rules, says Buffett, our system can work again. "It's like Martin Luther King said. We aren't trying to change the heart. We're trying to restrain the heartless."

"Isn't that," he asks, "what government is all about?" ■



The No Child Left Behind Act
was supposed to improve
education across the U.S.

It made states test students
in reading and math in the
third through eighth grades
and release the results.



Stormy weather Principal August Frattali at Rachel Carson Middle School in Herndon, Va., a good school failing under an overly broad law

Photograph by Matt Eich for TIME



With the data gathered through testing, it exposed a vast achievement gap within American schools.

But it also created a culture of teaching to the test, narrowed curriculums and put a lot of pressure on students and teachers, with little payoff.

Why It's Time to Replace No Child Left Behind

By Kayla Webley

RACHEL CARSON MIDDLE SCHOOL in Herndon, Va., is full of winners. In the past year alone, its students have taken home trophies for all kinds of competitions, from the science bowl and debate league to the state's chess championship and a haiku contest. The school has won a governor's award for educational excellence for the past four years and has been named a school to watch by a national forum for middle-school reform every year since 2004. And yet to the federal government, Rachel Carson, like many other well-to-do suburban schools in the U.S., is failing.

Since 2002 the federal No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB) has raised the bar each year for how many of a school's students must pass statewide math and reading tests; if a school fails repeatedly to make "adequate yearly progress," teachers and administrators could lose their jobs or, in the worst-case scenario, the whole place could be shut down. Rachel Carson, which is in one of the wealthiest counties in the U.S. and whose student population is 81% white or Asian, has high average scores. But because the law is designed to highlight achievement gaps—breaking out test results by such categories as race, gender and income—even high-performing schools can no longer ignore their problem areas. Last year, Rachel Carson started an after-school boot camp for its low performers, tracked their progress on practice tests every few weeks and offered cram sessions on four Saturdays before the test. Despite these efforts, 69 of the school's black, Hispanic, economically disadvantaged and special-education kids—5% of the student body—did not score high enough. And so for the first time, Rachel Carson, home to a gifted-and-talented center and 1,000 trophies, joined the estimated 48% of U.S. schools that failed to make the grade last year.

In many ways, Rachel Carson shows exactly what NCLB set out to do: gather detailed demographic data on student performance and light a fire under



Extra help Rachel Carson offers after-school and Saturday tutoring to prep students for state tests

complacent schools—suburban and urban alike. But grouping a generally successful school with dropout factories that don't teach the majority of their students much of anything highlights one of NCLB's many failures.

Signed into law by George W. Bush on Jan. 8, 2002, No Child Left Behind was a long-awaited shift toward accountability, but despite its admirable intentions and the measurable gains it has produced in the past 10 years, the good no longer outweighs the bad. Teachers and administrators say NCLB sets impossibly high standards and has narrowed curriculums, forcing teachers to teach to the tests, and it has labeled far too many schools as "in need of improvement," creating a race to the bottom as states dumb down their standards to ensure that more of their schools meet NCLB's rigid benchmarks. "It's become meaningless," Fairfax County superintendent Jack Dale says of the law, under which 62% of Virginia's schools fell short of the mark last year, compared with 39% the year before.

The sad irony of NCLB is that the language of failure, which it applies with such rigor, has come to be associated with the law as much as the schools it targets. "There's just so much broken in the law now that I actually think it's become an impediment to progress," says Secretary of Education Arne Duncan, whose biggest complaints about NCLB include its one-size-fits-all penalty system. "It's like taking a hammer to kill an ant." Judg-

ments like that help explain why, on the law's 10th birthday, no one feels like going to its party.

Standards and Penalties

BUT THAT WASN'T ALWAYS THE CASE. BUSH moved into the White House determined to make good on a campaign promise to get serious about education reform. Eager to inject some Texas-style accountability measures into the public-school system, he proposed testing students in reading and math every year from third through eighth grade and making the results public. And his plan didn't stop there: it included a cascade of penalties for schools that did not make progress toward closing achievement gaps. If a school fails two years in a row, it must direct a chunk of its federal funding toward teacher development and give its students the option to transfer. Fail five years in a row and the school has to take significant corrective action—replacing its staff, changing its curriculum or extending the school day. Fail a sixth time and the school can be taken over by a private charter-school operator or the state or be shut down altogether.

Neither party was all that wild about the bill at the outset. Democrats—and the teachers' unions that backed them—feared the bill prescribed reforms that were too disruptive and, at its worst, was a backdoor scheme to defund public schools, a concern fueled by Bush's introducing NCLB at the same time he

'It's like taking a hammer to kill an ant.'

—Secretary of Education Arne Duncan

was talking up private-school vouchers. Republicans, never fans of federal rules and regulations, were leery of depriving states of the control that they historically exercised over schools. Still, Democrats saw the bill as their best chance to enact significant education reform (and get schools the money that often comes with it), and Republicans wanted to support their new President's top domestic-policy idea. When Bush rolled out the plan on his third day in office, he did so with bipartisan help from Ohio Representative John Boehner and Massachusetts Senator Edward Kennedy. The bill passed with overwhelming support, 384 to 45 in the House and 91 to 8 in the Senate. "You're seeing government at its best," Bush said at the bill signing. "We figured out how to put our parties aside and focus on what's right for the American children."

That support began to erode almost immediately. Eight months after the law was enacted, the Department of Education released its first list of failing schools. Nearly 9,000 schools were named—and not just the inner-city schools everyone expected to see on the list. By dividing the test results into subgroups, the law exposed achievement gaps at wealthy, suburban schools where high-flying majorities had long masked the low achievement of minority and special-ed students. "The law allowed us to get under the definition of what is good and ask the question, Is this school really good for all kids?" says Kati Haycock, president of the national policy group Education Trust. And as schools were labeled failing, states pushed back. "School systems spent a lot of time being defensive," says California Representative George Miller, a Democrat, one of the lead authors of NCLB. "They got angry. They were embarrassed." Then they got creative. By year's end, Utah had removed some of the more difficult questions from its statewide exams, and Ohio refined its criteria for determining which schools were low-performing so that the number shrank from 760 to 200. These changes inspired other states to follow their lead.

On Capitol Hill, Democrats began attacking the Administration for underfunding the law, despite the 10% increase in federal spending for elementary and secondary education. Bush had pushed through, and Republicans began lamenting the magnified federal role in education. By the time the law's first anniversary came around, Kennedy, who had stood beside Bush at the bill signing, boycotted the ceremony. By its second anniversary,

Q&A

'Let's Not Weaken It'

Former President George W. Bush spoke to TIME education columnist Andrew J. Rotherham on Jan. 9, 10 years after he signed NCLB into law

Mr. President, 10 years in, what's your take on No Child Left Behind?

First of all, I am extremely proud of the effects of No Child Left Behind. For the first time, the federal government basically demanded results in return for money. It started by saying, We expect you to measure [student performance]. As a result, there has been a noticeable change in achievement, particularly among minority groups. And I'm proud of that accomplishment and proud of the fact we were able to work with people from both parties to get it done.

When I think back about No Child Left Behind, it's one of the really positive things our Administration accomplished along with Congress. So on the 10th anniversary, it's time to celebrate success, but it's also a time to fight off those who would weaken standards or accountability. I don't think you can solve a problem if you can't diagnose it, and I don't think it is fair for parents or students not to be informed of how their schools perform relative to other schools and how their children perform relative to other children. So I'm pleased with the progress and concerned about efforts from people in both political parties to weaken it.

What do you think is driving those efforts?

Some on the right think there is no role for the federal government [in education]. Some on the left are saying it's unfair to teachers—basically, union issues. People don't like to be held to account.

So when NCLB is finally re-authorized, what changes would you like to see?

Progress toward excellence. [Former Secretary of Education] Margaret Spellings recognized that in order to be able to accurately judge, you need to measure progress toward the absolute. But

In defense of NCLB

Bush, in a rare interview

what I'm worried about is the pressure to have too many goals or measure the wrong thing.

What will it take to rebuild a consensus on accountability?

Well, I think it's going to take presidential leadership. The President is going to have to be very firm in resisting the temptation to take the easy path. The President has to take the lead and say, Wait a minute, No Child Left Behind has worked. Let's not weaken it. And he has to find leaders in both parties to be willing to step up and make the change.

I understand that No Child Left Behind became a convenient punching bag for some during certain political seasons, but to push back requires leadership from the White House and the Congress.

In your view, how much of the criticism of the law is about the specifics, and how much is just partisan politics?

In some circles, punching No Child Left Behind is a way to basically say, I'm against Big Government. In fact, No Child Left Behind is a way to promote efficient government. No Child Left Behind basically says, If you're going to fund [schools], like we've been doing for years, we in the federal government ought to demand accountability, which seems to me a very conservative principle. Yet some conservatives are saying No Child Left Behind is an improper role for federal government. In that case, it's more philosophy than actual analysis of how No Child Left Behind works and its effectiveness.

People like [former school superintendents] Joel Klein and Michelle Rhee, people who are willing to challenge the status quo, tell you that one thing that made it effective was the accountability. Some of the biggest advocates for a reauthorization of No Child Left Behind without weakening the spirit of the law are those who actually sit on the front lines of education reform. The critics ought to listen to them.

at least 20 states had banded together in revolt, urging Congress to exempt them from the law. It got so bad that by the time NCLB came up for reauthorization in 2007, no one wanted to touch it. NCLB was jury-rigged from the start and fell apart almost immediately.

Minding the Gap

GETTING SCHOOLS IN THE HABIT OF COLLECTING and sharing data is the law's most enduring legacy. In addition to forcing states to release annual scores, the law requires the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP), often called the nation's report card, to test a representative sampling of fourth- and eighth-graders every two years to help compare students' progress in states that have vastly different standards. "Twenty years ago we would talk about schools without having any idea how they were doing," says Jay Greene, head of the department of education reform at the University of Arkansas.

Take Rachel Carson, where the majority of students do very well but only 62% of black students passed the state's seventh-grade math test. In other words, Rachel Carson is exactly the type of school that, before NCLB, could have easily glossed over the scores of its lower-achieving students. "Fairfax is widely known to be a high-performing school district," says principal August Frattali. "But we always knew in the back of our mind there was a gap between our black and Hispanic and white students." Pushing the gap into the spotlight is inarguably one of the law's greatest victories. At the same time, failing to close it—the NAEP report cards show that all groups of students have made academic gains over the past decade but that the gap has narrowed only slightly—is one of its most crushing defeats.

Teachers at Rachel Carson, like many others nationwide, say the focus on low achievers has come at a price. They complain that NCLB has sucked the creativity out of their lesson plans, forcing them to narrow their curriculums and teach only those concepts that will be on state tests. "The worst thing is when students have questions and interests and I have to say, 'Put your hands down. We don't have time to talk about that,'" says Leslie Hanna, who teaches eighth-grade science, a subject included on Virginia's tests along with math and reading. The push to improve scores means there is little or no time for some students to pursue electives like art and music. The band director, Linda Gammon, mentions one seventh-grader who was really excited

'There's a limit to what you can wring out of calling attention to a problem.'

—Charles Barone, who helped draft NCLB

this fall about playing a baby tuba but had to drop out of the band in order to take an additional reading class. "Every time I see him, I ask him how's he's doing, and he says, 'I'm doing O.K., but I really wish I was playing an instrument,'" she says. "I understand he needs the extra help in reading, but it really tugs at my heart that he can't have the experience of playing in the band. These classes can be the highlight of their day—the only time they feel like they are succeeding."

The law turned schools into test factories. Administrators at Rachel Carson say that in order to get students to pass the one assessment that counts, the school has to give all its kids practice tests constantly. "From January till June there is a major test just about every week," says director of student services Cheryl Weaver. Yet when students don't do well on the annual state tests, they're not penalized under NCLB; the school is. "From the child's perspective, there's no consequence for not learning," says superintendent Dale. And the students know it. "The amount of pressure teachers put on these tests is huge, but they don't really affect your future," says Dhruv Gupta, an eighth-grader in Rachel Carson's gifted-and-talented program. If students fail the state reading or math test, the school might not let them play in the band, but they won't be held back a year or forced to attend summer school.

Losing Its Shock Value

NCLB WAS SUPPOSED TO PINPOINT SCHOOLS that were truly failing their students. The government would then direct more resources to help those schools turn around, and if they didn't, it would shut them down. Neither of those things has happened in practice, and at this point almost everyone agrees that the law needs to be replaced. Even the people who wrote the law and worked to implement it admit

that NCLB has run its course. "There's a limit to what you can wring out of calling attention to a problem. At a certain point it loses its shock value," says Charles Barone, a former congressional aide who helped draft NCLB.

Yet despite the fact that NCLB's deficiencies have been well known for years—it decreed, for instance, that 100% of students must be proficient in reading and math by 2014 but didn't do much to help schools reach that goal—there is no consensus on how to change it. If there were, it would have been drastically altered when the law came up for reauthorization in 2007. Instead, NCLB in its current form, a law everyone knows isn't working, has lingered on the books, neglected, where it is expected to stay at least until after this year's elections. "It's an incredible reflection on our dysfunctionality," says Colorado Senator Michael Bennet, who spent nearly four years grappling with NCLB as superintendent of the Denver school system before he went to Washington. "Our inaction is a choice to keep it the same."

In the meantime, Education Secretary Duncan is offering waivers to states that promise to adopt common standards in exchange for relief from NCLB's rigid targets, and schools are still struggling to keep up. At Rachel Carson, students who failed or barely passed the standardized tests last year are being encouraged to participate in a peer-tutoring program, take a new class called Prep for Success and stay after school three days a week—and go in every Saturday if they want—to get extra help. The school hired an additional teacher to lead lunchtime math-tutoring sessions where students snack on mozzarella sticks and chocolate milk while they complete math drills and compete in Are You Smarter than a Fifth-Grader? "There's an energy in this building I haven't seen in years," says Frattali, who has been the principal of Rachel Carson since 2003. "We're charged up like a basketball team before a big game."

But what if, after all this energy and work, Rachel Carson doesn't make Virginia's target this year—90% proficiency in math—and is again deemed failing? "I would never tell my staff this, but I'm scared what will happen if we don't make [adequate yearly progress] this year," Frattali says. "My teachers have put their hearts and souls into this. We're doing everything we can possibly think of to get there, so to be told we're not making progress—that we're failing—well, it would really take a toll."



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Cheetah the chimpanzee,
with Maureen O'Sullivan
and Johnny Weissmuller on
the set of the 1936 movie
Tarzan Escapes

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The Culture

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Hollywood's animal actors / **56 SPORTS** Farewell, Fighting
Sioux / **57 TELEVISION** A local's take on *Portlandia*

Pop Chart



GOOD WEEK/ BAD WEEK

Blue Ivy Carter

At two days old, she's already been featured in her father Jay Z's new song "Glory."

Lenox Hill Hospital

It's under fire for allegedly giving the star parents special treatment during delivery



FLUBS Citation Needed

If the Vatican were a college student, it would be meeting with the dean right now. As an Italian blogger noted, biographies of 22 new Cardinals that the Roman Catholic Church sent to journalists all came from a surprising source: Wikipedia. The dead giveaway? Many of the Cardinals were identified as Catholic. Thanks for the detail, Father Obvious.

METROPOLITAN MAKEOVER

On Jan. 16, New York City's Metropolitan Museum of Art reopens its galleries devoted to American painting, which have been closed for four years, completing the third and last phase of a \$100 million renovation of the museum's American wing. It's the first time the painting galleries have been updated since they opened in 1980. They will now occupy 30,000 sq. ft. on a single floor, allowing visitors a seamless experience of canvases like John Singer Sargent's luscious Madame X, right.



FEUDS

Kirk vs. Leia: The Battle of the Stars

Geek icons William Shatner and Carrie Fisher have taken to YouTube to argue over whether *Star Trek* or *Star Wars* is the superior interstellar adventure. Even the normally calming presence of George Takei couldn't help.

"Star Wars is derivative of Star Trek."

"They're not in the same league ... My spice buns are so much better than [Leonard] Nimoy's ears."

"I envied [Star Wars'] special effects. The only thing is, you guys forgot about story and character and plot development."

"Fellow Star folks, cool it down ... What's needed today ... is Star peace, for there is an ominous mutual threat to all science fiction. It's called *Twilight*, and it is, really, really bad."

"Retribution must be paid, George. I need retribution."



The Girl Scouts have sold cookies as a means of fundraising since 1917



FOOD Centennial Snack

Thin Mints, meet Savannah Smiles. To celebrate their organization's 100th anniversary, Girl Scouts across the country will be selling a new cookie alongside standbys like Samoas and Tagalongs. The lemony treats are named after the hometown of the Scouts' founder, Juliette Gordon Low. *Savannah Smiles* is also the title of a 1982 comedy about a girl who runs away from home and stays with a pair of crooks. She should have joined a Girl Scout troupe instead.



A RADICAL VIEW OF NEW YORK

In 1936 a group of leftist photographers looking to document the squalor and splendor of everyday life in New York City formed the Photo League. Blacklisted as a subversive organization by the Justice Department, it was forced to disband in 1951. *"The Radical Camera: New York's Photo League, 1936-1951,"* on view through March 25 at the Jewish Museum in Manhattan, presents pictures from the cooperative's 15-year history, including Ideal Laundry, 1946, left. Read more about the exhibition at lightbox.time.com.



AWARDS Docu Rule Change

Hoping to pare the number of films eligible for a Best Documentary Oscar, the Academy has overhauled its rules so that, among other things, a movie must have been reviewed by either the *New York Times* or the *Los Angeles Times* to qualify. Some worry that this peculiar requirement will shut out less prominent films.



3 THINGS YOU DON'T HAVE TO WORRY ABOUT THIS WEEK

1. What to eat the next time you Star Wars fan club visits Belgium. European fast food chain Quick is selling a Darth Vader-themed burger on a black bun.

2. What Brandy and Monica are up to. The singers are recording a follow-up to their 1998 hit "The Boy Is Mine."

3. Border control in Sierra Blanca, Texas. Snoop Dogg isn't the only celebrity to be busted for pot at the interior checkpoint; Willie Nelson was arrested there in 2010.

VERBATIM

'Remember, this country was founded by a bunch of men wearing wigs!'

RUPAUL, at an event in New Hampshire; the famous drag queen held the event in order to declare, "I am not Ron Paul!"—as he is somehow commonly confused with the candidate



DVD

Boardwalk Empire, Season 1

Given its setting (Atlantic City, N.J., at the dawn of Prohibition) and provenance (it was created by a writer from *The Sopranos*, with the first episode directed by Martin Scorsese), this show arrived with a mighty pop-gangster pedigree. Thrillingly, it turned out to be so much more. *Empire*: S1 takes an expansive look at the intersection of race, crime, sex and politics.

—GILBERT CRUZ



Beasts of Burden

Should animal actors have a future in Hollywood?

By Bryan Walsh

THE PANICKED, RIDERLESS HORSE LEAPS over a trench and into the thick of a smoky, bomb-scarred battle. Artillery shells explode around him as he thunders through the field, huddled troops from both sides looking on in astonishment. Finally the horse becomes entangled in the barbed wire that studs the battleground. He goes to his knees whinnying as the camera closes in on his eyes, which are filled with bewilderment and pain.

The scene is the emotional center of Steven Spielberg's current film *War Horse*, which follows a thoroughbred named Joey from the bucolic farms of Devon, England, to service in the killing fields of World War I. It's also one of the most complex and frightening moments of animal acting in a movie that is full of them. The bursting bombs, the wild gallop, the barbed wire: watching in a darkened theater, it's hard to believe that Joey—or rather the South African bay named Finder who chiefly plays him—wasn't exposed to real peril on the set.

Animal-loving audience members can breathe easy: Finder was just fine. An experienced Hollywood actor who also starred in 2003's *Seabiscuit*, Finder was handpicked for the role by the movie's horse master Bobby Lovgren for his equanimity amid the creative chaos of moviemaking. (Thirteen other horses also played Joey, who progresses from colt to adult in the movie.) The filmmakers deployed computer graphics for shots in which bombs appeared to

fall near the horse, and the barbed wire was actually harmless plastic. A life-size animatronic horse was used for some close-ups, and a representative of the American Humane Association (AHA) oversaw equine safety on set. Even the hardcore activists at People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA) gave *War Horse* two thumbs up. "I will not work on a film that doesn't have that level of safety standards," says Lovgren. "It's not just for protecting the horse's interests but mine as well."

Unfortunately, not every Hollywood production meets those high standards. Advocates have long raised concerns about the treatment of animals in film, both in front of the camera and behind the scenes. As we learn more about the complex inner lives of animals, and as advances in motion-capture technology and computer graphics make it possible to portray both human and nonhuman characters artificially, it's worth wondering whether live animals should have a future in Hollywood. The debate is especially intense over the use of exotic or wild species like tigers or monkeys—which happen to be among the stars of another major holiday release, the Matt Damon drama *We Bought a Zoo*.

"I've been doing this for 30 years, and I've come to believe that from the perspective of wild animals, there is nothing good for them in entertainment," says Joyce Tischler, general counsel for the Animal Legal Defense Fund. "I just cannot see a reason to support it."



WE BOUGHT A ZOO

Matt Damon's co-stars include a grizzly bear and other wild animals, which are hard to train without coercion



WAR HORSE

Actor Jeremy Irvine, horse trainer Bill Lawrence and director Steven Spielberg, from left, rehearse with Andy, one of the 14 horses who played Joey. Computer-generated imagery and an animatronic horse reduced the need for live animal actors in strenuous scenes



WATER FOR ELEPHANTS

This Reese Witherspoon–Robert Pattinson drama prompted allegations of animal abuse



**JESSE JAMES**

The abuse of horses for this 1939 *Tyrone Power* western spurred industry-wide changes in how animals are treated on movie sets

The Wild West

ANIMALS HAVE BEEN PART OF HOLLYWOOD and cinema from the beginning: some of the first moving images ever recorded are of horses galloping. Breakout stars like Rin Tin Tin—a dog rescued from a WWI battlefield, who nearly won Best Actor at the inaugural Academy Awards in 1929—achieved the same level of fame as their two-legged colleagues. But for decades, most animal actors were treated like disposable scenery, with little or no safety oversight or regulation of their work. Horses in westerns were regularly pushed to exhaustion or placed into willfully dangerous scenes. One common procedure you can glimpse in films from the 1930s is wire-tripping, or toppling a horse in midgallop with invisible wires. In the infamous 1939 western *Jesse James*, wranglers pushed a blindfolded horse off a high cliff above the Lake of the Ozarks to get a shot of a cowboy on horseback jumping into the water. The horse broke its back and had to be put down.

Public outcry about that horrific scene pushed the Motion Picture Association of America the following year to add a section to its production code that explicitly prohibited cruel and hazardous practices like wire-tripping. Meanwhile, the AHA opened a Hollywood office to review productions; today the group keeps tabs on

some 2,000 film and TV productions per year. "Our guidelines are created in consultation with vets and animal scientists, and we have certified animal-safety reps on set to make judgments," says Karen Rosa, executive director of the AHA's film-and-TV unit.

The AHA's 100-plus-page guidelines cover everything from air quality for spiders (arachnids hate smoke) to pH levels in a fish's aquarium. If the AHA's on-set consultant is satisfied, a film can run the coveted tagline "No animals were harmed in the making of this motion picture" in its end credits. If not, the producers can expect a whole lot of bad press. The AHA wasn't permitted on the set of the 1980 flop *Heaven's Gate*, and it picketed the film's release after numerous animals were abused or killed during production.

Even today, the AHA review process is mostly voluntary, and the group covers only films made under the auspices

The AHA's guidelines cover everything from air quality for spiders (arachnids hate smoke) to pH levels in aquariums

of the Screen Actors Guild, which can exclude independent and international productions. (Human performers are free to make their own judgments: John C. Reilly reportedly quit the 2005 film *Manderlay*, directed by art-house provocateur Lars von Trier, to protest the on-set killing of a donkey.) The budget for the AHA's film-and-TV unit comes from the guild, which includes directors and producers; this means the people being overseen are also providing the funding for the oversight.

Of course, the safety of animal actors doesn't come down only to the conditions in an AHA-supervised production. Their well-being also depends on what happens far from the movie set, in the training and housing of performing animals. Last year's *Water for Elephants*, which cast *Twilight*'s Robert Pattinson as a veterinary student who bonds with an abused circus elephant, received the AHA's highest safety rating. Shortly before the film's premiere, however, the advocacy group Animal Defenders International released an undercover video purporting to show the film's elephant star being trained with electric-shock devices and bull hooks well before filming began. (The trainers have denied charges of abuse.) "We are very concerned with what might be happening with training away from the set, and we're interested in expanding our role," says Rosa. But broader AHA oversight would require more staff and more money, neither of which is easy for a nonprofit to come by.

The Zoo Story

THE CONTROVERSY SURROUNDING WATER for *Elephants* underscores the greater challenges for animal safety that arise when wild species are cast in a movie. Domesticated animals—horses like *Finder*, dogs like *Lassie*—can adapt well to the rigors of filming because they're accustomed to human beings and can be trained through positive reinforcement. But wild animals like the ones that populate *We Bought a Zoo* (based on the true story of a British writer who purchased and rehabilitated a broken-down zoo) are different. "Horses or dogs or cats are basically tame," says Chris Palmer, director for the Center for Environmental Filmmaking at American University in Washington. "But a wild animal like a tiger is just that—wild—and I'm not sure it can be trained for film without some coercion."

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Many animal-rights advocates agree with Palmer's point: that the very act of putting a wild animal in front of a camera and pushing it to behave in a certain way at a certain time is unnatural, stressful and potentially dangerous. "You need to know that your animals will do something on cue when the director wants it, and no wild animal is going to do that willingly," says Pat Derby, president of the Performing Animal Welfare Society (PAWS), a sanctuary for performing animals retired from film and TV.

Before she founded PAWS, Derby worked as an animal trainer in Hollywood on shows like *Lassie* and *Flipper*. (The latter program was the catalyst for dolphin trainer Ric O'Barry's animal-rights crusade in the Oscar-winning documentary *The Cove*.) As a trainer, Derby says, she tried to motivate her animals with positive reinforcement. But on set, that preparation often wasn't enough to guarantee that her actors would perform on cue. In those moments, trainers would need to employ at least the threat of punishment for wild species that are already naturally uncomfortable with human beings—and that opens the door to abuse. "The animals must know that if they don't do what they are told to do, there will be swift reprisals," says Derby. "People have this misconception that performing animals live a good life, and they don't."

We Bought a Zoo—with its lion, tiger and bear (along with other exotic species)—received an "outstanding" safety rating from the AHA, which had an expert on set during all filming. The movie's animal coordinator Mark Forbes argues that trainers throughout the profession put their animal actors first. "The one thing I want people to know about the profession is how much all the trainers love their animals," he says. "It's a privilege to be able to do what you love."

But it takes more than love to train and care for dangerous wild animals such as Spar the tiger and Buster the 650-lb. (295 kg) grizzly bear. *Zoo*'s blithe attitude about this responsibility—at one point, Damon's character declares that you simply need "a lot of heart" to run a zoo—is particularly ill timed. The film arrived in theaters just a few months after the owner of a private zoo in Zanesville, Ohio, purposely released his animals before committing suicide. In the ensuing chaos, panicked police shot 18 endangered

ANIMALS IN MOVIES: SOME HIGHS AND LOWS



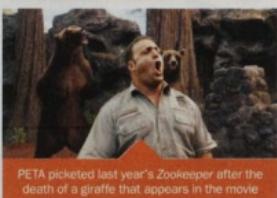
Outrage over cruelty on the set of *Heaven's Gate* (1980) inspired protests



War Horse star Finder also appeared in the AHA-monitored *Seabiscuit* (2003)



The AHA gave *Speed Racer* (2008) an "unacceptable" rating because of chimp abuse



PETA picked last year's *Zookeeper* after the death of a giraffe that appears in the movie



Summer hit *Rise of the Planet of the Apes* used no apes, to the delight of animal-rights groups

TO SEE BRYAN WALSH ON THE HISTORY AND FUTURE OF ANIMALS IN HOLLYWOOD, GO TO TIME.COM/ANIMALACTORS

Bengal tigers. The Ohio tragedy put an uncomfortable spotlight on the lightly regulated world of private wild-animal collections like the one portrayed in *Zoo*. "The message that you don't need expertise to run a zoo is totally irresponsible," says Julia Gallucci, a primatologist with PETA, which protested the New York City premiere of *We Bought a Zoo* last month.

Hail Caesar

IN THE END, HOW WE FEEL ABOUT seeing wild animals onscreen may boil down to what rights, if any, we believe those animals possess. Those beliefs are constantly evolving. For example, apes were once a go-to sidekick for leading men from Johnny Weissmuller in the *Tarzan* movies of the 1930s and '40s to Ronald Reagan in 1951's *Bedtime for Bonzo* to Clint Eastwood in 1980's *Any Which Way You Can*. In recent years, though, chimps and their ilk have received less and less screen time, in part because primatologists like Jane Goodall have taught us how captivity and performance can traumatize our highly intelligent animal cousins. (The orangutan that played Clyde in *Any Which Way You Can* was trained and controlled with vicious beatings, according to Goodall; the animal was found dead of a cerebral hemorrhage a few weeks after filming wrapped.) In fact, one of the few films in recent years to receive the AHA's "unacceptable" rating was the 2008 flop *Speed Racer*, after a trainer hit a chimp in full view of an AHA supervisor.

Perhaps it's a sign of things to come that the biggest animal film of 2011 had no need for an AHA safety rep on its set. *Rise of the Planet of the Apes*, about a genetically advanced freedom-fighter chimp named Caesar, created "living" cinematic apes solely with computer graphics, motion-capture technology and the simian-simulacrum gifts of actor Andy Serkis (who also channeled Gollum in *The Lord of the Rings* via motion capture). As with *War Horse*, PETA was impressed. "This shows that there are ways to use animals without using animals," Gallucci says. "The technology is just going to get better and better." One can see a day in the not-too-distant future when even a seasoned thespian like Finder the horse will have to look for another line of work. —WITH REPORTING BY NATE RAWLINGS/NEW YORK



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Sports



Say It Ain't Sioux. The University of North Dakota drops its mascot

By Sean Gregory

FOR YEARS, COLLEGE AND PROFESSIONAL sports teams have taken heat for caricaturizing Native Americans with their nicknames and mascots. Even so, we still have the Washington Redskins, and the Cleveland Indians haven't scrubbed the cartoon Chief Wahoo from their caps. In other instances, tribes have sanctioned a team's use of a nickname, as with the Florida State Seminoles and the Utah Utes.

But what about the puzzling case of the University of North Dakota (UND) and the Fighting Sioux? Spirit Lake, the Sioux reservation closest to the UND campus in Grand Forks, supports the name. Yet on Jan. 1, the school formally dropped it, to the disappointment of those for whom "the Fighting Sioux" represented victory and civic pride.

On the surface, the name and branding seem harmless. (Many Irish Americans, for example, bleed Notre Dame green and ally themselves with the school's leprechaun mascot.) UND's logo, a headshot of a stern-looking Sioux warrior designed by a Native American alum, is simple, classy and iconic. So why is it being phased out?

For Spirit Lake tribe members, the blame rests with a familiar foe: the National Collegiate Athletic Association

(NCAA). In 2005 the NCAA urged that UND and 17 other schools—including Florida State and Utah—scrub their American Indian imagery and mascots. If they refused, the schools would be ineligible to host lucrative postseason events and forbidden to use their names or logos during postseason play.

UND sued the NCAA. In a settlement, the NCAA stated that for the university to keep the Fighting Sioux name without facing sanctions, it would need the approval of both Spirit Lake and Standing Rock, another Sioux reservation in North Dakota. In 2009 Spirit Lake put the question to a full tribal vote. By a 2-to-1 ratio, members voted to keep the name. Standing Rock's tribal council voted to eliminate the name; it did not, however, put the question to a full tribal vote, to the dismay of Standing Rock tribe members

UND's logo, a headshot of a stern-looking Sioux warrior designed by a Native American alum, is classy and iconic

in favor of the Fighting Sioux moniker. "It's not right for people not to have a say," says Archie D. Fool Bear, a member of Standing Rock. (The chairman of the Standing Rock tribal council did not respond to an interview request.)

Opponents of the nickname cite instances in which fans of UND's archrival, North Dakota State (nickname: the Bison), defaced the Fighting Sioux logo on T-shirts. Those may have been isolated events, and Bison fans are not the first to mess with a rival's brand. But if UND made way for a less historically and culturally charged mascot, racist taunts would no longer be an issue. "The name and logo breed prejudice," says B.J. Rainbow, a UND student and Native American with blood ties to both Standing Rock and Spirit Lake.

Many other UND students, especially non-Native Americans, and Grand Forks residents are in mourning. To them, the Fighting Sioux logo is not unlike the Green Bay Packers helmets. "You can't overstate how obsessed Grand Forks is with UND hockey," says Allison Davis O'Keefe, a photojournalist who spent 15 months chronicling the team—which has won seven national championships—and the controversy. "If we're not the Fighting Sioux, who are we? It's a loss of identity."

UND has not picked a new name (it likely won't revert to its pre-1930 handle, the Flickertails), and Fighting Sioux supporters aren't giving up. Spirit Lake and 1,000 supporters from Standing Rock recently filed a federal lawsuit against the NCAA, claiming violation of religious rights. The evidence includes a Grand Forks *Herald* article from July 21, 1969, that reported that "a band of Standing Rock Sioux formally gave UND teams the right to use the name of 'Fighting Sioux' for their athletic teams." Fighting Sioux boosters insist that Spirit Lake tribe members also took part in this ritual blessing. (UND recognizes that a ceremony took place but says its intent remains unclear.) "We fight for what Spirit Lake wants," says Frank Black Cloud, a Fighting Sioux advocate and member of Spirit Lake. "We are a sovereign nation. The name is an enormous source of pride. To have that taken away from us—it's more hurtful than you can possibly understand."

Television

The In-Joke Is on Me A Portlander explores *Portlandia*

By Douglas Wolk

ON A BRISK SEPTEMBER DAY IN PORTLAND, Ore., a few dozen members of the Timbers Army—earnest ultra-fans of the local Major League Soccer team—stand on a set of bleachers in the city's northeast quadrant, filming a scene for the comedy series *Portlandia*. Across the street, the production team is prepping a sketch about a brunch spot so popular that the people waiting to get in have formed a tent village. Meanwhile, a woman in

It's IFC's most watched series ever, attracting 5 million viewers last year. I'm getting used to friends from out of town asking if life in the city is really as utopian (or unbearable) as the show makes it seem. But while *Portlandia* is dense with local in-jokes (the mayor's hapless assistant is played by Sam Adams, the actual mayor of Portland), it's really about a broader cultural stratum: privileged rebels settling uncomfortably into middle age. In

TV comedies—*Curb Your Enthusiasm*, *Parks and Recreation*—also rely on improvised dialogue, but *Portlandia* stands apart because Brownstein and Armisen conjure new characters in nearly every skit. Amid the show's parade of celebrity guest stars (this year's include Kristen Wiig, Greg Louganis and Jeff Goldblum), *Portlandia* is at its core an ensemble comedy series with a two-person ensemble.

At its best, *Portlandia* comes off as a set of particularly inspired YouTube spoofs by friends of friends, albeit with slightly higher production values. That's not a backhanded compliment. The show is much more interested in scrappy, hand-crafted charm than in frictionless pro-



a garish print dress and vintage sunglasses ambles down the sidewalk—not a *Portlandia* extra, it turns out, though she would have fit right in among the marchers in the Allergy Pride Parade sketch shot earlier that day.

I've lived here for eight years, and *Portlandia* can seem like a version of *Saturday Night Live* aimed directly at us Portlanders, both as audience and satirical target. Stars Carrie Brownstein and Fred Armisen nail much of what we find embarrassing—yet awesome—about a bohemian city of sensitive, forward-thinking culture vultures who pedal fixed-gear bikes to the microbrewery and expect restaurants to provide biographical details about their menu items. ("The chicken you'll be enjoying tonight—his name was Colin. Here are his papers...")

Now in its second season, *Portlandia* has caught on outside this cloistered enclave.

the words of the first episode, Portland is "where young people go to retire."

Both Brownstein, 37, and Armisen, 45, made their names in their 20s as punk-rock musicians. (Brownstein spent a lot of last year touring with her band Wild Flag.) Over the past decade, Armisen has become a mainstay of *Saturday Night Live*, with a repertoire of impressions including President Obama, Steve Jobs and Prince. He met longtime Portland resident Brownstein in 2003 when her then band Sleater-Kinney played in New York City. A few years later, the duo started making the short comedy videos that eventually evolved into *Portlandia*. As Armisen recalls, "It seemed more interesting than jamming."

But their collaborations do have a lot in common with jamming: sketches are almost entirely improvised, then edited from a series of exploratory takes. A few other

professionals. It's also the first TV comedy to really harness the strengths of Internet video memes: simple yet daffy premises, understated execution, YouTube-friendly durations. The show rambles awkwardly at times, but it also radiates droll wit and spontaneity, as when a dour employee at a feminist bookstore mutters about how a repairman has positioned his ladder: "I'm basically behind bare now." (The sequences set at Women & Women First are, naturally, filmed at an actual Portland feminist bookstore called In Other Words.)

There's been a slight local backlash to *Portlandia*, mostly in the form of online grumbling. Brownstein doesn't mind, though. "Even if the show is divisive," she says, "that to me is a more interesting kind of art to make than something that people never talk about or think about." Which is a very Portland kind of thing to say. ■

Joel Stein



[Redacted] #@!%\$ [Deleted]

This is what happens when you hire a strategist to vet your edgy tweets

WE DON'T LIKE BORING CELEBRITIES. Because we know that if we had all that money and approval, we would be fearlessly spouting forth at the Algonquin Round Table of life—telling the truth, quipping gutsily and being totally O.K. with the fact that sometimes we wore the exact same outfit better than another celebrity and sometimes we wore it a little worse.

So when celebrities got on Twitter, it was great. After years of publicist-vetted blandness, we got to read stars' unfiltered thoughts. Many of their personalities were just as big as we'd hoped. Alec Baldwin feuded with everyone; Ashton Kutcher befriended everyone; Gilbert Gottfried made fun of everyone; Kim Kardashian sold everyone.

Unfortunately, as anyone who is married knows, when you express yourself honestly and with all your heart, you get into trouble. So following a barrage of tweets about how evil American Airlines was for kicking him off a plane when he hid in the bathroom after refusing to shut off his cell phone during takeoff, Baldwin got made fun of and quit Twitter for a while. After writing during the Penn State sexual-abuse scandal that Joe Paterno shouldn't have been fired, Kutcher apologized and said all of his future tweets would be edited by his production company. After getting fired from his job as the voice of the Aflac duck for posting 12 Japanese-tsunami jokes, Gottfried switched to writing corny puns. Rupert Murdoch, who signed on to Twitter just this month, learned from their mistakes. Though he has been tweeting about five times a day, he's safely promoting Fox products: *The Descendants*, *We Bought a Zoo* and Rick Santorum.

Because we're so eager to be offended, celebrities are now becoming even more boring than they were before Twitter. We complain that politicians won't tell it like

it is. But that's because we can't even handle insult comics' making jokes about a tsunami. By fainting like Southern belles at every offense, we've bred out all the edge from our politicians. Which is exactly how you wind up with a Mormon President. And now that we're all public figures—with our Facebook friends, Twitter followers and blog readers—we are all about to become just as boring.

Time Warner has too much to lose by letting me reveal my true thoughts here. That's why six editors will read this before it goes to press. But I too have been stupidly posting my offensive thoughts directly on Twitter—thereby shedding more than 300,000 followers over the past two years. So I'm not taking any more chances: I'm running all my public statements by Amy Jo Martin, the owner of Digital Royalty, which creates social-media strategies for companies and celebrities. She's reviewed tweets for clients such as Shaquille O'Neal, Dwayne "the Rock" Johnson and Ultimate Fighting Championship president Dana White.

I e-mailed all my tweets and Facebook updates to Martin on Monday before posting. I pretty much never got to post. She rejected my New Year's Eve line about Dick Clark's going from America's Oldest Teenager to just America's Oldest. "If you're going to offend people, make sure your Return on Influence is there," she e-mailed me. She turned down one about how if the GOP candidates were in gay relationships, Santorum would be more Ernie than Bert. "No. Just no. There are these things called brand boundaries, and you can't cross them," she wrote. When a woman said she liked me, Martin wouldn't let me respond by telling her that I liked her overly revealing outfit. "You sound like a Twitter creeper," Martin said. The only tweet she let me send out was this boring one: "When people say 'I wish there were 2 of me' they mean 1 to work and spend time with their family and 1 to do what they want." Although one person did respond by writing, "You're a pig." That person was my wife.

Still, I didn't lose any Twitter followers or Facebook friends. Martin's strategies were so successful that I asked her to review everything I was about to say to my lovely wife Cassandra. Banter, I realized, is for wingers. No one divorces a guy for saying boring stuff.

I knew I was in a situation that would be difficult to navigate when Cassandra approached me as I entered the shower and started running her hands over my body. She was clearly freaking out about bedbugs. Though I had no bites, there were several suspicious bumps on her knees, so we stripped the bed, removed the mattress and brought out the steam cleaner. When she said, "I'm sorry I'm crazy," I stepped away, closed the door and sent Martin an e-mail asking if I could reply, "You're not crazy. You're eccentric." I got the green light. "Words like that are utility players in punt situations. 'Interesting' is another alternative," she said.

Not only did my response not get me in trouble, but Cassandra tweeted it. We're going to have long, happy, boring marriage. ■





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10 Questions



"One of the worst prepaid debit cards was the Kardashian Kard," says Orman

Financial adviser **Suze Orman** talks about her new card, who can't take advice and where to put your money

You've created a new card. Does the world really need another credit card?

The world does not need another credit card. The world needs another vehicle to get people to pay in cash. People have got to learn, if they don't have cookies in the cookie jar, they can't eat cookies.

So yours is a debit card?

The real thing that I'm doing with my debit card is changing the system. People are being penalized for paying in cash and rewarded [with credit scores] for paying on credit. The Approved Card, which costs \$3 a month, will share information with a major credit bureau, which will be evaluating that information to see if cash can predict credit-worthiness. And if it does, Miss Orman here will have created a vehicle to change how scores are calculated, which affects everything else, like your insurance premiums.

For a while, you advised broke people to save instead of paying off their cards. Are you going to war with the industry?

I am taking on the industry. People were using all their money to pay down their credit-card debt, then the com-



panies were either revoking the card or putting down the limit. Not on my watch.

In this era of low returns and stock-market volatility, where should we put our money?

That's the key, girlfriend. They're forcing you to put the money back into the stock market. Right now, given that I think inflation is going to come back, you need safety. I tell people to put their money into TIPS—Treasury inflation-protected securities. When you start hearing everybody telling you to do that, you might want to think of exiting. One of my predictions for 2012 is the 29-year-bond bull market will come to an end. I think you have to be very careful now. If you're in a bond fund, you could really get hurt.

How would you answer critics who say your advice is too risk-averse for people to make money?

I would say they should've listened to me in 2007 when I was telling everybody to buy municipal bonds. They would have made money. In 2008 I said it will take till 2014 or 2015 for us to turn this situation around. People came down on me like I didn't know what I was talking about. In 2012 we're not even close to solving this problem.

So how much are you worth? It fluctuates daily, but we're worth about \$25 million.

Can I, as a thousandaire, really expect you to understand my financial situation?

For seven years I was a waitress making \$400 a month. Don't think that I don't remember what's it's like not to have a pot to pee in. Who would you want to be giving you advice? Somebody who doesn't have any money?

What do you think of the *Saturday Night Live* parody of you?

Love it. Greatest honor of my life. When I was at the University of Illinois, my roommate had a boyfriend by the name of John Belushi. He lived with us. So *SNL* has always been close to my heart. Once, I was in the audience when Kristen Wiig did it, but I realized she was self-conscious.

Which is the worst profession at taking financial advice?

Doctors, hands down. They don't listen. But doctors are different from dentists, and gynecologists are actually different from doctors.

What is the weirdest piece of advice you've been asked for?

Can I afford \$6,000 for a sundeck for my pet iguana? Can I afford \$100,000 to be able to clone my dog? What about \$6,000 to go to Ireland to become an elf? I denied approval for the last one. The other two could afford it.

—BELINDA LUSCOMBE

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